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# THE IRISH QUESTION

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## HEARINGS BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Sixty-fifth Congress - Third Session

ON

### H. J. RES. 357

REQUESTING THE COMMISSIONERS PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE TO PRESENT TO THE SAID CONFERENCE THE RIGHT OF IRELAND TO FREEDOM, INDEPENDENCE, AND SELF-DETERMINATION

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DECEMBER 12, 1918



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## COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

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## THE IRISH QUESTION.

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COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Thursday, December 12, 1918.*

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m., Hon. Henry D. Flood (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has met this morning for the purpose of considering House joint resolution 357, introduced by Mr. Gallagher, of Illinois, and other resolutions which have been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs relative to the Irish question.

I understand there are quite a number of ladies and gentlemen here from different points in the country who want to be heard on the resolutions, and I will be glad if some gentleman who represents some of these committees or delegations would indicate whether he knows how many there are to be heard, so we can arrange to apportion the time. The committee decided to give four hours to hearing various persons on these resolutions. We would like to apportion the time in a manner agreeable to those who have come to be heard.

In addition to the visiting delegates there are a number of Members of Congress, who have introduced resolutions of a similar import, who would probably like to be heard on their particular resolutions.

### STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS GALLAGHER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, House joint resolution 357 is simply an amended resolution which was introduced by me in the House about two years ago, requesting the commissioners at the Peace Conference to take up the question of Irish freedom and self-determination.

As a result of the introduction of that resolution quite an agitation has gone over the country urging legislative action upon the resolution. A great convention was held in New York City last spring, with delegates present from every section of the United States. They sent a committee here in August—the Mother's Mission, representing the tens of thousands of Irish-American mothers who had sons in the American Army—to present to Congress a petition signed by some 600,000 American citizens asking for action on that resolution.

I presented the petition to Congress, and it was referred to your committee. Since that time I have introduced House joint resolution 357, which is the original resolution amended to meet present conditions, and I want to thank the committee for giving us a hearing on it.

We have large delegations from different sections of the United States here this morning. They have come long distances, and have been unable to get together and formulate the program. That must

develop at this hearing. We have 20 here from Chicago alone, and there are other men and women from every section of the country. Of course, we are anxious to give all of these delegations a chance to be heard upon the resolutions.

Likewise there are a number of other resolutions which have been introduced in Congress bearing upon the subject of a free Ireland, and the introducers of those resolutions may want to put their views before the committee also. So, in order to develop some kind of a program by which we can have concerted action and use as little time as may be necessary to place the matter properly before the committee, I am willing to consider any suggestions that may be made as to the formulation of a program.

I want to say this: That in accordance with the organized effort of the people who are behind my resolution—and there is a large organized effort all over the country, in all the large cities, and throughout the whole country generally—former Congressman Gorman, who is here as the head of the committee from Chicago, has conferred with the New York delegation and other delegations, and he may have some suggestions to make by which we can formulate a plan for presenting our views on this subject.

Mr. McLaughlin, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Lundeen, and a number of others who have presented resolutions, will doubtless desire to be heard. At the same time, I want to suggest to the chairman of the committee that several other Members of Congress may want to have something to say or to place in this record with regard to the subject under discussion, and I would ask for them the privilege of having their views printed, if they have not sufficient time to present them verbally.

The CHAIRMAN. That permission will be granted. In addition to the organization from Chicago, represented by ex-Congressman Gorman, there are also representatives from New York; Boston; Philadelphia; Cleveland; Pittsburgh; Providence, R. I.; Oswego, N. Y.; Syracuse, N. Y.; South Bend, Ind.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Montana; Kentucky; St. Louis; New Jersey; St. Paul, Minn.; Connecticut; Lowell, Mass.; Wichita, Kans.; St. Augustine, Fla.; Westfield, Mass.; Pittsfield, Mass.; Springfield, Mass.; Baltimore; Washington, D. C.; Seattle; North Carolina; Missouri; Wisconsin; North Dakota; Springfield, Ohio; and New Rochelle, N. Y. That makes 32 delegations.

There are a number of Members of Congress who have introduced resolutions who might want time.

Mr. KENNEDY. Since the committee has limited the hearing to four hours, according to a motion agreed to by the committee, would it not be a good idea to find out how many intend to be heard, and then it would be possible to apportion the time?

The CHAIRMAN. There is a suggestion that we proceed to-day, and that after we adjourn to-day that the various delegations get together and make an arrangement in regard to the apportioning of time to various speakers. Then if it is found that the time allotted is short, we will give you more time. Suppose we first hear Mr. Gorman and then some one else, and after we adjourn to-day the various organizations can get together and apportion the time and select spokesmen.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. Chairman, I think all the delegates here are unanimous on what they are seeking. I do not think all the delegations will want to be heard.

I understand there are a number of Members of Congress who have introduced resolutions similar to the one now before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Nine or ten.

Mr. GORMAN. Suppose the committee devote such time as may be necessary this morning to hearing the Members of Congress on their respective resolutions, and then when you adjourn, after the Members of Congress have discussed their resolutions, we may be permitted to use this room for a meeting at which we will determine just how many speakers we care to have discuss the matter before the committee.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. AMBROSE KENNEDY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Chairman, being a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I am perfectly willing to extend any time that might be given me to those who have come here to be heard on these resolutions.

Briefly, however, I will state that the resolutions before the committee are substantially similar; they differ only in phraseology. All these resolutions now before us propose that the doctrine of self-determination shall be applied to the settlement of the Irish question. But the resolution which I personally introduced differs from all the other resolutions in that it provides a way of ascertaining the will of the people of Ireland with respect to the form or system of government they may desire. It provides that the doctrine of self-determination shall be applied by giving that people the right to decide freely and fully for themselves by vote of a majority, expressed through a plebiscite, the political system under which they shall be governed. This is the element of difference between my resolution and the other resolutions which have been introduced on this subject.

In reading the New York Times yesterday I noticed that a great mass meeting was held on Tuesday evening in New York composed of 25,000 people or more at which the following resolution was passed and transmitted to the President of the United States on his journey across the seas:

Therefore, we respectfully but earnestly urge that our President declare at the peace congress that the people of Ireland should, as a matter of right and justice, be governed only in accordance with their consent and that the will of the majority, ascertained by a plebiscite of the adult population, be accepted as the sovereign will of the people instead of the present foreign rule by force.

The resolution which I introduced several days ago on the question of self-determination for Ireland is somewhat similar in character to one which I offered during the last session of Congress, and I desire to call the attention of this committee and this audience here assembled to the fact that, just like the resolution so recently adopted at the great mass meeting in New York City, it provides that the will of the Irish people shall be expressed through a plebiscite. It is altogether obvious that a plebiscite of the entire adult population of Ireland would furnish the most complete and authorized expression of the national will.

The world has been led to understand that the principle of self-determination is to be applied at the peace conference in accordance with the views so often enunciated by the President of the United States, and, this being the case, I believe it should be done without reserve or limitation. A fundamental principle knows no distinction of nations. Therefore, Ireland, as well as other small nations, should be included in the application of the principle. The proposition is one of extending justice to all, now that the peace of the world is to be finally settled upon the tested foundations of political liberty.

Mr. Chairman, not desiring to further encroach upon the time of those who are here to be heard, I shall reserve any further remarks until the committee assembles to consider these resolutions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gorman, I think you had better proceed.

Mr. GORMAN. The Chicago delegation, coming down on the train last night, arranged that I was to speak myself and designate some members of the committee—Judge Scanlan, Judge Barrett, Rev. F. X. McCabe, president of De Paul University—to present their views to the committee on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you desire to be heard first?

Mr. GORMAN. I will call on Judge Scanlan to speak.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. KICKHAM SCANLAN, JUDGE OF THE CIRCUIT COURT OF COOK COUNTY, CHICAGO, ILL.

Judge SCANLAN. About 18 months ago this committee of ours appeared before your body and asked you at that time if you would favor a resolution which is in accord with the one we are now speaking about. You gave us a two days' hearing at that time. You remember we bothered you quite a little at the time we were here before. You probably thought we were rather troublesome in those war days. But you gave us the word at that time that a resolution like the one we wished adopted was not a prudent one, that it must bide its time. And we went away, Mr. Chairman.

We went back to Chicago and we kept the faith. From that day until two weeks ago the committee of one hundred never did a solitary thing in the way of urging Congress or forcing its resolution on the Government of the United States.

They stepped into the ranks, like good American citizens, and they gave their all for this country, because when all is said and done a man of Irish ancestry could not do anything else for America. He might grieve about the condition of Ireland and he might have the old-time sentiment about marching in the ranks and saving England, but he was an American first, last, and all the time.

The Irish helped to make America in 1776. The British Parliament said that but for the aid of the people of Ireland the freedom of America would not have been won. And in every war from that day to this they have stood by America, and they stood by America to a man in the last war. Do not let any paper, do not let any propaganda in the world, ever make any member of this committee think that there was any man of Irish blood in America who could dream for one moment of anything but the success of America. We kept the faith.

Now, the nations have signed the armistice and we are here again. I am reminded of the saying of an old schoolmaster at Notre Dame.



who taught me arithmetic and geometry, of the difficulty of undertaking to prove an axiom. That is what we are here to-day for. We are standing before a committee of Congress—men and women from all over the United States—and we are undertaking to demonstrate an axiom.

Mr. GOODWIN. A self-evident proposition?

Judge SCANLAN. A self-evident proposition. Can you give any set of men in the world a harder proposition than that? What did our President justify our going into the war for? We were a peace-loving people. We had been taught, generation after generation, not to interfere with European affairs, and yet the day came when we had to, and our great President, who has gone over the seas to see the right thing done, says this was a war for the small nations, that this was a war for justice, that this was a war to settle questions that had been disturbing the peace of the world century after century. What did our great President say six or seven weeks ago? He said that at the peace table eternal justice may demand that our allies as well as foes shall concede things in order that the rights of the nations of the world may be properly determined. You are going to free the Poles; thank God for that. Irish-Americans rejoice at that. You are going to free the Bohemians; thank God for that. You are going to free all these other nations; thank God for it. Then, in the name of God, how can they have a voice for the purpose of determining what the rights are in settling these things and leave the nation that has been longest in bondage still in slavery?

Ireland was a nation when the other great nations of Europe were not civilized. Ireland never fought an aggressive war against any nation in the world. Study her history, gentlemen. Never once did she assail another nation, and it is recorded in the ancient books that she was, centuries ago, perhaps the strongest nation in Europe. Do you remember how she drove the Romans back to the Alps in defense of Scotland and England, and after she drove them back to the Alps she returned to Ireland.

Ireland never persecuted any creed in the world. Do not let that poison enter into your souls. Ireland never persecuted any creed in the world. That is the history of Ireland, and whenever men were persecuted in Europe in the old days there was one land where they could go and worship God as they saw fit, and that was Ireland. Ireland was the only nation in Europe that never persecuted the Jew. Now they tell us to-day, in order to muddy the waters, that Ireland can not be relied upon in that regard as a free nation.

Mr. GOODWIN. In speaking of self-government, what friction, if any, would follow between Ulster and southern Ireland?

Judge SCANLAN. None at all. Let me tell you something. You have heard of the rebellion of 1798 in Ireland. All the great leaders in that rebellion were Protestants. The English hanged them by the dozen. Robert Emmet, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others that were Protestants sacrificed their lives.

Mr. KENNEDY. Robert Emmet was a Protestant?

Judge SCANLAN. Yes, sir; and Fitzgerald was a Protestant and Wolfe Tone was a Protestant, and Bagenal Harvey was a Protestant. Their names are emblazoned in the hearts of Irishmen. Every time that the Irish had to choose a leader within the last century and a

half, instead of selecting a Catholic to lead them they selected a Protestant, with two notable exceptions, and the Protestants of Ireland have died by the hundreds and thousands for nationality's sake.

Mr. GOODWIN. What is the ratio of population between the two?

Judge SCANLAN. Three to one. But it does not make any difference. Do not allow that to disturb you for a moment. You hear a good deal about the Ulster question, and yet we have a majority in Parliament from that Protestant district of Ireland who stand out for Irish nationality.

Mr. MILLER. By that you mean those in favor of home rule?

Judge SCANLAN. You have got to be very careful how you use those terms. I may say, personally, that if the Irish ever agree by a majority vote that they are willing to have British home rule, in spite of the fact that for many generations back our family have been in America, that we have died on the scaffold or in jail fighting for Irish nationality, when they agree to accept British home rule I am through with Ireland. When any nation surrenders its nationality it is gone, and that is what has kept the Irish through 750 years of persecution, and if you men knew about it as we know about it you would feel as we do. Do you know that at one time in the history of Ireland her population was reduced to the vanishing point by the sword and by carnage and by slaughter? But the virtue of the women of Ireland has spared us through all the generations; they repopulated Ireland, and in the providence of God they are going to repopulate it again.

You ask me why, as an Irish-American, I am here demanding self-determination for Ireland. That is the blood that is in me, and I do not want my girls, who have been in the canteen service all through this war, to stand out in the days to come and say that at the peace conference they said that all nations should be free but the Irish. They say that the Czecho-Slavs, the Jugo-Slavs, and all these other nationalities shall be given their freedom, and the race that has gone out from one end of the world to the other, and kept the banner of freedom flying wherever they have gone, that that race shall be condemned forever to slavery.

We are approaching the end, and God Almighty has struck the hour, and the question is now, when we close this book, What will be the voice of America on this question?

You sent your boys over there to do what? They are coming back now through Chicago by the trainloads, and my girls are canteening them day after day, and they are coming home with tears in their eyes, and telling us that the injured men who are coming back say, "Thank God we were in this great war; thank God we were in the war that settled for all time the freedom of the races." And they are coming back happy. Why?

If our representatives go to that peace conference and declare that all these nations shall be free and condemn Ireland to slavery, you simply have made a question that will disturb the peace of the world forever. You have got to settle this right.

We are living in God Almighty's time; this is not man's time. God Almighty has been waiting, century after century, for man to do this right, and now He has ordained that the American people shall settle this thing, the people who have nothing to gain except-

ing right, and they are going to be the people who will settle this proposition in Europe, regardless of how the other nations may feel about it. Else we have no justification for our part in the war. This is the question you must speak out about. You are doing something now that your children and their children's children are going to read about. You are saying whether you speak for free Ireland or for an enslaved Ireland. And if you speak right it matters not what these other nations may think or say. America that saved them all, America which has nothing else to gain except the establishment of right, America will determine it, and if you arm our President, who has gone over there to tell them what right is, he will come out of that conference with all the nations of the world free.

It is pretty hard for me to speak on this subject. I have the emotions of centuries in my heart, and all I can think of for the dead of my race, those who died on the scaffold, and those who died in jail. I could speak forever on this subject.

I beg of you to remember these things and to cast your vote right. It will be something you will be proud of to your dying day. It is something that your children and your children's children will be proud of, that you voted and you helped to make all the enslaved nations of the world free.

#### STATEMENT OF REV. F. X. McCABE, PRESIDENT, DE PAUL UNIVERSITY.

Rev. Father McCABE. Mr. Chairman, about a year ago the committee from Chicago appeared before you on the resolution presented by Mr. Gallagher at that time, and we are here again practically for the same purpose on the question of self-determination for Ireland.

We believe that the resolution should be ordered out on the floor for consideration because it is merely asking for one country that seems to have been left out, the things that have been laid down as fundamental, for which our Nation entered the war—the right of all peoples to live under the form of government that they would choose.

We are representing practically the unanimous thought, not only of naturalized Irish-born men and women in Chicago, descendants of Irish men and women in Chicago, but the various creeds and nationalities of Chicago, when we, as the representatives of the committee of 100, appear to speak for the resolution demanding self-determination for Ireland.

I think in this resolution the right to freedom, independence, and self-determination of Ireland covers entirely the situation, and I feel that we have every reason as American citizens, independent of our descent, to request that you and your committee, with as little delay as possible, grant our request that this resolution may be taken out from the committee and put before the Congress of the United States.

The Irish people have contributed, notwithstanding reports to the contrary, a large percentage of their man power to the cause of the freedom of the rest of the small nations of the world and have the right, I believe, to demand for themselves what they have fought for for the whole world. They have contributed in funds, by extraordinary self-denial—I am speaking of the Irish—they have contributed

in funds by extraordinary self-denial, millions of dollars toward the cause of freedom. In our own country, in Canada, Australia, practically from all over the world, the Irish born, who have become citizens of other countries, have been as earnest and as energetic as any in contributing of everything that has made for success to our arms.

The Navy, the Army, and all the various branches of service of our own Nation are filled with Irish born, naturalized citizens of America, and the descendants of Irish born. And everyone of them went into the fight on the pledge of the fundamental principles that had been enunciated, that this country was asked to throw itself, with all its energy and with all its power into the fight that the small nations of the world might no longer be tyrannized over by any nation, and that as a consequence they might have the right to assemble and determine for themselves their own form of government and pursue life, liberty, and happiness under governments chosen by themselves.

When we, as a people, after going before the world under the direction of our Chief Executive, sacrificing our treasure, sacrificing our lives, and causing anguish and anxieties and fears and sufferings to mothers and fathers, have pledged ourselves to grant this, our whole work of the last two years will be thrown to the winds, if self-determination for Ireland is not put on the statute books.

We want at the present time to leave nothing after this peace conference that will disturb the harmony of the world, and the Irish people, who have fought for 700 years, suffered, bled, and died for the last 700 years in a pronounced and open protest against a tyranny that has been exercised over them, will not rest until they have obtained their freedom and their independence, and anything that this Nation can do, that the Congress of the United States, that the Chief Executive of the country, supported by the Congress of the United States and by the popular sentiment of our country, can do, ought to be done, and ought to be done now, and I feel that I speak, basing what I say on the fundamental principles of our Government, when I say that the people have an absolute right to have returned to them their sovereignty, and I feel that there can be no harmony and no peace in the world as long as these people are slaves.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, we ask you and your committee to consider this resolution and to consider it favorably, that it may go before Congress and become the voice of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. GORMAN. At this point I desire to inform the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs who the men and women of the Chicago delegation are and what they represent. Mr. Patrick J. Reynolds is president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of the State of Illinois. Mrs. B. J. Mahoney and Miss Anna Murphy are representing the League of Small Nations, an organization composed exclusively of women. Judge George M. Barrett and Judge Kickham Scanlan are two of the most prominent citizens of Illinois and are judges of the circuit court of Cook County, which is a court of unlimited jurisdiction. Rev. Father McCabe is president of De Paul University, Father Cahill is pastor of one of the leading parishes in Chicago. Dr. Murphy is one of our distinguished surgeons. John

F. Fitzpatrick, John Roche, M. F. Sullivan, and George W. McGuire represent the labor interests, the latter two being members of the bar and Mr. Sullivan an assistant States attorney. Those, with myself, represent what is known in Chicago as the Committee of One Hundred.

This committee was created a little more than a year and a half ago, and it represents many societies in Chicago, the membership of which is composed of men and women of Irish birth or descent. Since its organization this Committee of One Hundred, representing these various societies has been very active in promoting the movement for action on the part of Congress to bring about self-determination for Ireland.

A resolution similar in tone to the resolution now before this committee for consideration urging self-determination for Ireland has been adopted by various organizations in Chicago and throughout the country, and to give the committee some idea of the widespread interest and sentiment that is represented in this matter I might say that the week beginning December 8 and ending December 15 has been set apart by the National Council of the Friends of Irish Freedom as self-determination week. Meetings have been held and will be held between now and next Sunday and will continue to be held in all sections of the country.

On next Sunday evening one of the largest gatherings ever held in the city of Chicago will assemble at the First Regiment Armory, at which the Most Rev. Archbishop Mundelein, of Chicago, will be the presiding officer.

We have the labor organizations associated with us, and they have demanded that Ireland be given the right of self-determination. At one of the recent meetings of the Committee of One Hundred there were a number of distinguished non-Catholic clergymen present, who declared themselves as being strongly in favor of the adoption of such a resolution. Among those present on that occasion I might mention the names of Rev. Dr. Philip Yarrow, one of the most prominent non-Catholic clergymen in Chicago and leader of the Chicago Dry Federation, and the Rev. Dr. John P. Brushingham. This movement is not confined to any one section of the country. It is not confined to men and women of Irish birth or descent. We are asking for the extension to Ireland of a fundamental American principle.

We who have been taking some part in this movement believe that the position of the United States among the other nations of the world is such that if an expression went forth from the Congress of the United States urging the peace conference to apply that fundamental American principle to Ireland, or rather declare to England that it should be applied to Ireland, that such representation by the highest legislative body in the world will not and can not be ignored. We appeal to this committee to recommend this resolution of Congressman Gallagher be reported to the House with a favorable recommendation, so that the world may know that the American people, through the Congress of the United States, insist that this age-long controversy between Ireland and England will come to an end, and the rights of Ireland will be determined as the President of the United States said the rights of all small nations should be determined, on

racial lines, to the end that the peace of the world may be made secure by reducing to a minimum the sources of controversy that have heretofore existed.

Mr. MILLER. I have been wondering what the population of Ireland is at the present time.

Mr. GORMAN. It is four and one-half million.

Mr. MILLER. And, further, could you give us any idea as to the kind of Government Ireland might establish for herself if this principle should be applied?

Mr. GORMAN. That would only be my personal view on the matter.

Mr. MILLER. I understand that.

Mr. GORMAN. My impression is that if Ireland be given the right of self-determination she will in all probability follow the shining example of our own Government and adopt a government similar to that of the United States.

Mr. MILLER. It would be a Government separate and apart from the British Empire?

Mr. GORMAN. I have no doubt that such would be the desire of the Irish people.

Mr. MILLER. I had in mind that possibly some scheme was in view of a combination between the two for mutual protection, whereby the fleet of one might be utilized for the protection of both.

Mr. GORMAN. Such a scheme as that might be worked out. I have heard it said that the British fleet has been guarding our shores very vigorously, and it might be that it would with the same vigor guard the shores of Ireland until such time as Ireland, under its own government, could develop a fleet of its own. There was a time in the history of Ireland when she did have a fleet.

Mr. MILLER. You would not recommend that both Ireland and Great Britain should both have a big fleet on the high seas, would you? They might be fighting all the time.

Mr. GORMAN. I think if the principle of the freedom of the seas is adopted there would not be any need for that.

Mr. GOODWIN. In that event, could you imagine any nation having the temerity to attack Ireland?

Mr. GORMAN. Under proper international guarantees Ireland would be immune from attack.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us what the population was 70 years ago?

Judge SCANLAN. It was over eight million 70 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that about the time the corn laws of England went into effect?

Judge SCANLAN. Yes.

Mr. GORMAN. I may say, Mr. Chairman, that we have brought literature on the subject of the revenues of Ireland, its expenditures, and its population, and I would be glad to leave that with the members of the committee. It would enlighten the committee in regard to some questions which they would be likely to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. The population now is one-half what it was in 1830?

Judge SCANLAN. Yes.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH McLAUGHLIN, A REPRESENTATIVE  
IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.**

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Chairman, I have introduced on this subject House joint resolution No. 127, directing the President and the Secretary of State to make such representations to Great Britain as shall result in the establishing of a government for Ireland similar to that in Canada. The resolution says:

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President and the Secretary of State be, and are hereby, directed to make such representations to Great Britain as shall result in the establishment of a government in Ireland similar to the government that now exists in Canada, with full right to enact such legislation as will promote the prosperity of the country, adequately develop its resources, and safeguard the rights, the liberties, and the interests of its people.*

I have no desire to take up too much of the time of the committee this morning. But I think we should divide the time. There are few men, I think, who have much better right to speak for the Irish in Ireland than I have. I have had the distinction of living 21 years 11 months and 2 days in that country, so that I know it personally fairly well. I know the objections the Irish there have to living under English laws. It is reasonable that a people who have fought for freedom in every part of the world should believe that they should have freedom, and if this war has been for the freedom of small nations and for a world democracy, how can they select out the one lone country that has been the longest persecuted and the longest under a form of government which they have resented for over 700 years and not make it free?

Now, Mr. Chairman, I am the National President of the largest representative organization of the Irish-Americans on this continent, with a membership of over 250,000. They are a unit in asking for self-determination for Ireland. Our national officers and our board of directors met here one week ago. No dissenting voice on that board was heard on this question, and I beseech this committee to report any one of the resolutions to the House—I care not whether it is the McLaughlin resolution or any other resolution. What we want is justice. We want the same rights for the Irish people in Ireland as we want for any other people, and I am satisfied that this committee will grant that right.

I would like to have about 15 minutes of the next meeting of the committee to speak on the resolution I introduced. There are two other gentlemen here whom I would like to refer to. There is no religious prejudice in us. I am from the north of Ireland, which you can readily understand by my accent. There is not such a condition in the north of Ireland along religious lines as has been claimed. It is only those who enjoy special privileges from the English Government who try to create this distinction.

The best evidence in the world is the fact that the nine northern counties, which they call Ulster, are sending a majority of National members to the British Parliament.

There is a gentleman here from Louisville, Ky., whom I want the committee to hear, who is a Presbyterian, and who has two brothers who are Presbyterian clergymen in the north of Ireland. They are neighbors of mine, and they were all very liberal in their views.

I do beseech you, gentlemen of the committee, to report this resolution to the House. I know your vote will be a just vote, and I feel sure that it will be a unanimous vote, so that this important issue may come before the American Congress.

# STATEMENT OF MR. RICHARD F. DALTON, OF NEW YORK, N. Y.

Mr. DALTON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I appear here representing the United Irish-American Societies of New York, which, in its membership, represents all of the Irish and Irish-American organizations in New York.

I appear here as the chairman of the committee which arranged for the Madison Square Garden meeting a few nights ago, the great meeting that has been held in New York since Bryan spoke at that historical meeting of his. On behalf of those people who expressed their interest at Madison Square Garden and on the streets around it—because all those who desired it could not secure admission to Madison Square Garden—I ask to make a part of the record the speech of Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston, delivered at that meeting in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that may be admitted to the record.

ADDRESS BY HIS EMINENCE, CARDINAL O'CONNELL, AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY, DEC. 10, 1918.

In finally yielding to the repeated urgent invitations of your committee to be present here at this significant meeting to-night I have listened to the voice of duty alone.

As the case was presented to me it became clear to my mind that to stay away would be tantamount to the evasion of a grave obligation to my faith, my country, and my race.

When the voice of that sacred trinity of motives calls, no man with a Christian conscience can refuse to rise and follow it, no matter what the cost or the sacrifice.

I had to choose between convenience, conventionality, and duty. I have made my choice, and here I stand.

The Irish people through all the painful vicissitudes of their history have been faithful, as no other people in all the world, to the Christian faith. The most Christian country in all the world to-day, according to the testimony even of her enemies, is Ireland.

When her children, fleeing from an intolerable condition of servitude under a foreign domination hateful to the proud spirit of all freemen, came in pitiable exile to these shores of free America they brought with them the noblest virtues of Christian souls. Where even to-day would the Church in America be—for that matter in the whole English-speaking world, England included—but for the fidelity, the great-heartedness, the unquenchable devotion of the children of Erin?

Is it possible that any of us bishops or priests of America could ever be guilty of forgetting that to the heroic generosity of the Irish we owe such glorious monuments to faith as the superbly beautiful cathedral of this wonderful city, dedicated to Ireland's patron saint and erected by the sacrifices of his faithful sons and daughters? What is true of this noblest Christian shrine in America's greatest city is equally true of thousands and thousands of humbler fanes in humbler communities all over the land.

Can any of us among the Church's leaders ever remain silent and inactive when there is at stake the welfare of the people to whom we owe our very daily bread and the roof that shelters us?

There is no legitimate limit, no limit within Christian law, to which I and every prelate and priest of America should not be glad and happy to go when the cry of the long-suffering children of the Gael comes to us, and when as now,



before the tribunal of the whole world, the sacred cause of justice to every nation and every people is to be given a public hearing.

It is because the people of Ireland have solemnly kept their sacred word, given to their great Apostle, to be faithful to Peter's successor as they would be faithful to Christ, that they have felt the heel of a foreign despot mercilessly grinding them down into the very dust of humiliation. Yes, let us say it frankly and openly for it is the truth, it is the fidelity of Ireland to all she holds most sacred which has been the chief cause of her offending.

Are we whose very lives are dedicated to the eternal principle for which Ireland has become a martyr among the nations, so bitten by mere worldly interests as to be mute in this day when all the world of national wrongs and of brutal might is summoned into court? God forbid!

In God's name let us now speak out fearlessly for God's cause, for the cause of justice to all, weak and strong, small and great, or let us be forever silent.

If we look back upon what has happened during the last four years we shall see that conditions hitherto accepted as permanent and absolutely unchangeable have been so completely and entirely transformed that almost nothing remains of them to remind us of what once stood as firm as Gibraltar.

It is as if the elemental forces had suddenly asserted themselves and had completely overrun the earth. The kaleidoscope of the world has been shaken and the bits of colored glass in the child's toy have rushed into new combinations which puzzle the eyes of our brain. One after another thrones have been overturned and empires have fallen. Disorder has broken loose upon the earth, and unless some power greater than the forces of anarchy prevails, all Europe—all the world—will be shaken to the foundations of civilization.

The great war is over now, but he who fancies that because the great war is over universal peace will appear on schedule time has a great disillusion ahead of him. No; unless now that the war is over, justice begins her rightful reign over the whole earth, there may be a momentary lull, but enduring peace will not be attained. It was for justice that humanity fought, and humanity will still be ready to go on with even fiercer wars until justice holds full sway.

Be not deceived by false prophets. Diplomacy which failed so utterly to preserve the peace of the world will not succeed alone in bringing it back.

Underneath the smooth and cool phrases and barren formulas of a diplomacy which has forgotten its own purposes, we can even now hear the mysterious stirring of elemental forces striving urgently to burst through the cryptic formularies of a decadent system, striving to get into articulate speech what suffering humanity wants to say, striving with the impatience of agonizing multitudes to stop the babble of bribed officialdom that honest men may be heard, striving to articulate in all the dialects of the world the word, which, heeded, will help the staggering earth to recover itself, unheeded, will plunge the whole tottering world into universal anarchy.

America is far away from the real theatre of mighty changes. But even America will not easily escape a movement so universal as now is visible on every horizon. What is that movement? It is the pent-up longing in the hearts of a dozen nations for the right to rule themselves.

The doom of autocracy has already sounded. The silent millions of Russia, patient for centuries, have rushed madly into the vortex of revolution. Even in Germany, which seemed so content with itself, a new force is pushing out the older forms.

Obviously, therefore, we are at the end of a period, and a new one is beginning. Is it strange that when Poland and Serbia and the Czechs and the Slovaks and the Serbs and the Ukrainians are clamoring for national rights and national recognition that Ireland, for full seven centuries dominated by a foreign rule acquired only by force and even to-day exercised by force, should now more than ever call upon the world, but most of all upon America, as the bountiful mother of true freedom, to help her regain the treasurer stolen from her, and reinstate her in full possession of her complete liberty?

If in the blaze which the great war enkindled, various tribes and families of the human race beheld as with a new light their claim to separate consideration, is it any wonder that the people of Ireland, too, had even a clearer and a stronger vision of their age-long inheritance?

Ireland's position as a nation is nothing new which the war has just succeeded in creating. Never, since the day her crown was stolen, has she ceased to claim it back. In every century for 700 years, by protest, by appeal, by parliament, by arms when other means seemed futile, but in any event, by one means or

another as she found it in her power to use them, Ireland has never failed to keep alive her own sense of distinct nationhood and impress it as palpably as conditions would allow upon a listening world. As a profoundly Christian nation, she has clung to the law of God in all these demonstrations of her loyalty to herself. Rarely, very rarely indeed, has she permitted even cruelty to goad her into forgetting it.

But ever and always every method she adopted, every leader who spoke her cause, every victory won, every defeat suffered, every weapon used, every strategy designed, ever, and ever, and ever, the same ultimate purpose is clearly visible, and that purpose is the vindication of Ireland's right to government only by consent of the governed.

That is the principle which ultimately won America's freedom: and it is because America understands that principle, that Ireland to-day relies upon America to echo it throughout the world for Ireland's liberty.

Is it the Bolsheviki only who now are to be acknowledged as free? Is it because, being Catholic, the Irish people repudiate Bolshevism that they are now to be repudiated and their just claim forgotten and neglected?

Let them beware in time who encourage by their actions and words to-day before the court of the world such dangerous conclusions as these.

Is it really true that the blood of millions has been shed that right alone should rule the world, and that the monster of brute force, might, which in many places besides Germany has dominated the fate of millions of human beings, should be deposed forever? Is that really true?

Is the law of justice to be honestly applied to all, or is it to be still merely a cloak to hide indefensible, selfish purposes and to be dispensed ad libitum as governments have the brute power to observe or ignore it as they like?

Was the great war a conflict for true freedom under right for all alike, or was it a grim hoax played upon the ingenuous by the shrewd manipulators of clever phrases?

These are all questions which any man in the streets who has ears can hear to-day. The world of honest, trustful men is waiting for the answer, and woe to the world if that answer be not honest, frank and true.

Surely since the peace of the world depends upon the answer it is the solemn duty of all of us, especially of those of us whose duty it is to hold up before all alike the great principles of Christian morality by which alone mankind can live, to speak out fearlessly and clearly, lest being found faithless in such a world crisis, we forfeit forever our right to be listened to by honest men.

If faith is to survive this hour of universal groping and striving, the men of faith must speak. If they are silent now, then whose the blame if all faith perishes from the earth? Is that, then, the real meaning of Malachy's dread prophecy—"religio depopulata"?

The deepest purpose of this meeting is that faith may prevail—faith in governments, faith in rulers and congresses, and all that set of divine principles and influences and human agencies by which the world is held in order.

This war, we were told again and again by all those responsible for the conduct of the war, was for justice to all, for the inviolable rights of small nations, for the inalienable right, inherent in every nation, of self-determination.

The purpose of this meeting to-night is very specific. The war can be justified only by the universal application of those principles. Let that application begin with Ireland.

Ireland is the oldest nation and the longest sufferer. If these principles are not applied in her case, no matter what else may be done, there will be no complete justice, no genuine sincerity believable, and the war not bringing justice will not bring peace.

Who was it who by the enunciation of these great principles united the peoples of the whole suffering earth? It was our own President—once Wilson of America, now Wilson of the world. To-morrow he lands at Brest—Brest, the very port out from which Count Arthur Dillon sailed with his three thousand Irish troops to aid America to obtain from England the very principle of self-determination, which to-day Ireland demands, and which we of America, in accordance with the principles enunciated by our President, to-day also are determined by every legitimate and lawful and Christian means to aid Ireland to obtain. For Ireland equally with America fought in this conflict for right.

America has fought in this war not for selfish aims. She has given her best blood, her hardest toil and her enormous wealth, and in return gets not one foot of soil, not a single material gain. She has a right to demand that for which alone she has made such tremendous sacrifices—justice to all.

Let the test of sincerity be Ireland. Then we will be convinced that truth still lives.

Ireland must be allowed to tell the world freely what she wants, how she wishes to be governed. Speak up, Ireland; make the world hear you! Wake up, England, for the world is watching you!

May God grant that the voice of Ireland be heard and that at last peace, entering Europe through Ireland's freedom, bring even to England its blessings and its fruits.

I firmly believe that the day that England honestly faces her full duty to Ireland and fulfills it faithfully, God will bless her as she has not known His blessing for many centuries. For as with the individual soul, so with the soul of a nation—a clear conscience is the only door to happiness.

We want this honest and frank expression of our principles, the principles upon which the stability of this Nation and every nation must now rest, to be borne undiluted across the sea, that first Ireland may hear and rejoice, that England may hear and consider, and that our President and all those about him at the great conference of peace may hear and heed.

When those men in whose hands now rests the fate of all freemen arise, with their work for the welfare of the world completed, may one of the very first articles of that treaty of peace for all the world read: "We meant what we said—Ireland, like every other nation, must be free—one united Ireland, indivisible, unseparated now and forever."

And the children of the Gael, scattered over all the earth, will hear that soul stirring message, and then, moved by a common impulse, they will turn their faces toward Erin, lift up their hands to Heaven, and at that moment of Ireland's triumph, will sing in unison the greatest *Te Deum* that ever arose to God.

**MR. DALTON.** Mr. Chairman, we ask at this time for favorable action on this resolution introduced by Mr. Gallagher not entirely as matter of favor or as a matter of beseeching, but almost, I might better say, as a matter of right and as a matter of justice, because to-day when we ask you to apply the principles of self-determination to the case of Ireland through the peace conference, we are doing so after applauding the action of the President in applying the principle of self-determination to the peoples and nations against whom our boys have been fighting in this war. We have applauded each time self-determination was asked for the small nations comprising the Central Powers, and to-day we are asking you to apply the principles of self-determination to those who fought with us.

Mr. Chairman, we are asking you to permit the people of Ireland to have the right of self-determination. We are asking that right for the people of a country which is as large in its area as the total area of the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire together, which in 1841 supported a population of close to 9,000,000 people. At each successive census since that time the population of the country has decreased until to-day it stands at 4,300,000. In other words, the population has been halved.

**MR. GOODWIN.** I have understood that out of a population of approximately four and one-half million in Ireland, that less than 700,000 male citizens of military age now remain in that country, the rest having gone to newer countries, like America, Australia, and Canada, in quest of freedom. Can you verify that statement?

**MR. DALTON.** I understand that number is approximately correct.

**JUDGE SCANLAN.** Poland has given millions of people to America, and so has Germany, and so has Bohemia, and so have the various other countries; but in spite of that fact, their populations to-day are greater than they were 50 years ago. The Irish people love children. You do not have to be told about that. In spite of the fact that they

have given people to America, they should in the ordinary course of events have increased in population; but, instead of that, their population to-day is only about one-half what it was 70 years ago.

Mr. DALTON. While they were being cut in two in the past, the census of Great Britain showed at each 10-year period an increase in population, until in the 70 years which have elapsed the population of England, Scotland, and Wales has doubled, while the population of the adjoining island—Ireland—has been halved.

Gentlemen, during our own Revolutionary War the people of Ireland were by our example rekindled with a fire which has broken out in each generation since that time in an armed rebellion. In each of the five generations men have shed their blood that Ireland might be free of the foreign yoke. What greater demonstration could be given of the desire of the Irish people to have a change in their form of government?

But we do not ask this committee to suggest the form of government the Irish people shall have.

We ask, in accordance with the principles laid down by President Wilson, that the Irish people themselves shall have the right to say what form of government they shall have, and if they should decide, and I am sure they would, upon a separate and distinct form of government, they would have a country with three times the area of Belgium, with twice the area of Denmark, and with twice the area of Switzerland, which has maintained its neutrality through all this trouble.

There can be no permanent peace in the world following the conclusion of the Peace Conference, if those who have fought with us, whose sons have gone forth wearing the khaki and the blue, shall be denied the right of self-determination.

Not only, therefore, as a matter of right and justice, but as a matter of wisdom for mankind, for the benefit of Ireland, for the benefit of the United States, for the benefit of England herself, it is essential that the Irish question be settled, and it can only be settled by reference of it to a fair plebiscite of the adult population of Ireland. Self-determination is what this resolution requests; that is what we are here to-day for, to ask and urge you gentlemen to vote for it.

Hon. Thomas B. Smith, of New York, handed in the following resolutions for insertion in the record:

Twenty-five thousand American citizens of Irish birth or blood, in meeting assembled at Madison Square Garden, New York, on the 10th day of December, 1918, declare:

That we rejoice with our fellow citizens at the victorious conclusion of the war and the triumph of the ideals for which America entered the war.

That we take justifiable pride in the record for bravery and patriotic fervor made by the men of the Irish race in the Army and Navy and the important part they played in the decisive battles for the democratic freedom of the world.

That we applaud the determination of our President to be present at and participate in the proceedings of the peace congress, to the end that full effect be given to the principles enunciated by him in his addresses to Congress, his State papers, and his speeches, which have been accepted by the American people as the true reason and purpose of America's participation in the war.

That the most important of those principles, that of self-determination as to the form of Government by the consent of the people who are to be governed, should be applied to the people of Ireland, in conformity with America's declaration.

That the Irish people are, by race, language, and traditions a distinct and separate people, that their country is a nation with well-defined geographical boundaries, that they have exercised sovereign rights for a thousand years and have been deprived of them by force, that they have never surrendered or compromised those rights, that they have not ceased to struggle morally and physically to recover those rights; that they are withheld from them by force, and that the only rule which prevails in their country to-day is the rule of force against the will of the people.

That on every battle field from the earliest in the Revolution to the latest in France, where American ideals were fought for and American institutions and interests defended, the Irish race in America have freely given their blood and lives and linked themselves with everything so essentially American that with truth and confidence they may now say to their country in this supreme hour: "Stand for the people whose sons have stood for you and show grateful recognition as well as vindicate right and justice."

Therefore, we respectfully but earnestly urge that our President declare at the peace congress that the people of Ireland should, as matter of right and justice, be governed only in accordance with their consent and that the will of the majority, ascertained by a plebiscite of the adult population, be accepted as the sovereign will of the people, instead of the present foreign rule by force.

JOHN W. GOFF, *Chairman.*

ALFRED J. TALLEY, *Secretary.*

#### STATEMENT OF HON. GEORGE F. BARRETT, JUDGE OF THE CIRCUIT COURT OF COOK COUNTY, CHICAGO, ILL.

Judge BARRETT. Mr. Chairman, there are just a few things I want to make some remarks about, having to do with questions put by members of your committee to other speakers who have preceded me.

I come from a district in Chicago represented in the House of Representatives in Washington by the Hon. Adolph J. Sabath, one of the members of this committee. Across the street from where I live begins the district of Hon. John W. Rainey.

The district of which I am a resident is peopled by practically every nationality on the face of the globe. We have there in large numbers the Poles, and almost entirely the Poles are Catholic. We have there in large numbers the Bohemians, and they are largely Catholic. We have in large numbers the Germans, and they are Catholic. We have the Irish there, religiously the same, and yet that district, made up in that way, with possibly 80 per cent Catholics, has returned Congressman Sabath to Washington for five or six terms. I say this to you to indicate that there is no such thing as a religious issue in the matter in which we are now concerned.

The Catholics at all times will recognize good in a non-Catholic. Time after time I have had occasion to appear on the same platform with Congressman Sabath, talking for the liberty of Poland. We have appeared on the same platform talking for the liberty of the Czecho-Slav and the Jugo-Slav, and all the other Austrian peoples. We hope, and know now, that the time is not far off when freedom will again be given to them.

We believe, as the President of the United States believes, that freedom for those people is necessary for the preservation of the peace of the world. We know that the troubles of those foreign countries have caused a great deal of the friction and strife in Europe. We know that England herself has declared that this war was being prosecuted by herself and those with whom she was allied for the purpose of removing from the world those things which

brought her trouble, due to ignorance concerning national existence and rights. This country, when it entered the war, declared that for the purpose of having a peace which should be permanent and universal it was necessary to remove those causes which brought about the troubles in Europe. If that is true as to Poland and Bohemia and those other nations—and we concede it is—by what process of reasoning can it be said to be untrue as to Ireland? If it is necessary to remove the troubles in those other States which have existed for a number of years, and in some of them for centuries, it certainly, by the same logical process of reasoning, must be done as to Ireland, for the cause is exactly the same.

We appear here to suggest that not only is it proper for the Congress of the United States to indicate its impressions, its desires, and its judgment so far as Ireland is concerned but that it is the duty of Congress to do so in order that when this Peace Conference is concluded and the various things there discussed disposed of that there shall not be anything left unsettled which may in 10, 20, 30, or 50 years, or longer, again cause trouble.

With these things in mind, with the fact that Ireland has at all times done that which every other right-thinking nation has done to bring about peace, has done the same as this Nation has done to bring about peace in the world, I say to you gentlemen on this committee that you will be doing no less than justice to the American people and to those Americans who come of Irish forebears in recommending to the Congress of the United States the passage of this resolution.

#### **REMARKS OF HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.**

MR. GALLIVAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, you have heard from Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York. As a Representative in Congress from the city of Boston, whose citizenship is deeply interested in this whole subject, I feel that it is about time that the city of Boston should be heard from on the resolution of Congressman Gallagher.

There are a few things I would like to remind this committee of, as Members of Congress, which, perhaps, for the moment they have forgotten. First of all, speed is necessary in connection with this resolution. It asks President Wilson to do something at an early date. The Peace Conference is about to get together. What we hope for is early and favorable action, more favorable action than was given to a request which was sent abroad, signed by 168 Members of Congress, cabled to Lloyd-George. Some of you may remember the appeal which we made to the distinguished premier. We signed that appeal as Members of Congress, with Mr. Speaker Clark leading off. I personally filed that cable to Lloyd-George, after we entered the war, asking that Ireland be given self-government. I do not know whether Champ Clark ever heard from Lloyd-George or not, but I never did.

We later had a visit from the British mission, and that mission was entertained on the floor of the House. It was headed by Hon. Arthur Balfour. I remember distinctly that the Members of the House were invited to shake hands with Mr. Balfour. I declined to do so, because I could not forget something that I had heard years

ago from my father's lips about some of the Balfour policies of the other days. I remember distinctly that a colleague in Congress, as we stood within earshot of Mr. Balfour, saying to me, "I know what is the matter with you. It is because he is Bloody Balfour." I said, "Yes; I can not forget." I reminded my colleague of the petition which had been sent to Lloyd-George. Then my colleague said, "Let me ask Balfour about that." He said to Mr. Balfour, "There is Representative Gallivan, of Boston. He was the author of a resolution which was sent by cable to Lloyd-George a few weeks ago, signed by 168 Congressmen, asking for self-government for Ireland now. No action has been taken on it." And Mr. Balfour replied, within my hearing, "Oh, I know all about that resolution, and if the gentleman is the author of that resolution, you can say to him that favorable action is about to be taken on Ireland's appeal."

That was many months ago, Mr. Chairman, and Ireland still waits! England failed once more, and now we have it on excellent authority that Ireland will not accept what England called "home rule," but will insist on a form of Government to be determined by a plebiscite of her adult population.

What will our own country do to help her?

If the recent participation of America in the world war—and I was one of those in Congress who voted in favor of our participation—was really for democracy and the rights of peoples to govern themselves, what about Ireland? None too often have we reminded ourselves of President Wilson's declaration that the great war was fought in behalf of the self-determination of nations and the rights of even the smallest among them to freedom and their own development. Surely, then, there is no good reason why the claims of Ireland should not be considered, at least as much as the claims of Serbia, Slavonia, Alsace-Lorraine, and the others.

Ireland has contributed her due proportion of fighting men to the war. If anyone here doubts my statement, you have but to read with a little care the eloquent lists of the dead and wounded.

Ireland has been struggling for self-government for seven centuries. Her people have lived in the valley of the shadow of death. Every now and then the light seemed to dawn upon them, only to be soon extinguished. In the midst of the greatest havoc that has ever wrecked the world their yearning was as keen as ever it was in all the long night. The dawn seems at last to be coming, I hope, to break upon a long day of blessed prosperity, and I hope that a year from now the orator who takes the place of the lamented Redmond in College Green may be privileged to say, with Grattan, as he rose slowly in 1782 in her House of Commons:

I am now to address a free people. Ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation. I found Ireland on her knees. I watched over her with that eternal solicitude. I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, from arms to liberty. Ireland is now a nation. In that character I hail her, and, bowing to her august presence, I say, "Live forever."

Let no man who loves liberty charge me with striking a discordant note in this appeal. No, sir; I am striking no discordant note. The world is ablaze with the triumph of democracy and the struggle for freedom is on. It will not end until the shackles and the manacles fall from off every bondman, and until there shall not be a foot of

the earth, which the Psalmist calls God's footstool, that shall not be made too sacred to bear the tread of a slave. America yearned toward freedom in '76, and Boston gave it to her through the evacuation of my city by the troops of the enemy. Ireland has had her national aspiration, too, and that aspiration is, under God, to be realized. Terrible is the price that we have paid, but whatever comes, whatever may befall, of one thing I am firmly convinced, that America will never be satisfied until the end for which we are struggling shall be attained—the riddance of the world of the diabolical philosophy which holds that man has a right to property in man; that national aspiration is a something not to be realized, but to be crushed out of a people; and until the principle which is the very corner stone of our Government be recognized, that government depends upon the consent of the governed.

Mr. Chairman, I know you will be glad to hear from one of the most distinguished clergymen in the city of Boston, and I present to you the Rev. Philip J. O'Donnell, of my city.

#### STATEMENT OF REV. PHILIP J. O'DONNELL, OF BOSTON, MASS.

Rev. Father O'DONNELL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, there was recently a mass meeting of 18,000 American citizens assembled in Boston made up of all denominations and of all classes and races. there being present representatives of the Polish, the Jewish, and the Slavonic races as well as the Irish. Some descendants of the old Puritans as well. who still love liberty now as always, joined with us. and they asked that I represent them before your committee and ask of you that which the President has promised to all Nations, great and small, self-determination for Ireland.

There is hardly any need of my going over the historic conditions in Ireland, because you have already received that information from other speakers. But there are some things that, in the course of events, I should say.

Our ancestors fought here. I am American born, born within the shadow of Bunker Hill, and my people have been here for more than one generation, and I speak, therefore, as an American of Irish descent, and as proud of both as I am of my religious convictions. As such I come to ask that through this self-determination, the wrongs of the centuries may be cared for and prevented in the future.

Not only was Ireland a nation before Christ was born, not only has it stood a nation for 12 centuries and during these latter centuries has been still a nation—but a nation subject to a foreign body that has been refused its rights.

My dear old grandmother was a Presbyterian, born in the north of Ireland, and she could neither read nor write because it was a crime to receive an education in Ireland. There was a price on the heads of schoolmasters, as well as on the heads of priests. And I will say here, with great gratitude to the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland in those days when the priest was hunted as the wolf, he went, oftentimes, into the homes of Presbyterians and there received that hospitality which has made the Irish famous.



The trend of the times has compelled England to do something. But why should Ireland be obliged to accept anything from a foreign nation? Why should Ireland not be able to take care of herself? I believe she is able and ready. That is why I appeal to you. They have the brain and the brawn; they have the purity of their women and the splendid ability of their men; and they have every national characteristic. They have a nation now over there. Being Irish, I have been fighting for her freedom all my life, and I have always felt it was the duty of every Irishman of American nativity to work for the interests of the cradle land of the race, and work all the time for her.

We have already, by the wonderful victories procured mostly by our armies, pledged ourselves in the words of the President, as a nation, through him, to give to every other nation the rights we have, the right to live in happiness with each other and be equal before the law, and the right to make the laws. In the beginning of this country of ours they would not stand being dominated by people of a foreign power, because England was foreign to this country, and was trying to enslave this country.

Our people rose up in arms for liberty and freedom. The time for armies is rapidly going by because we are all desirous of having peace among all nations. And our people demand that might shall be no longer right in any nation. We ask that for Ireland, one of the oldest nations of Europe; we demand that by the right of all Irish in America who have been for America from the day they first landed here, with their money, talents, their ability, so many of them signers of the Declaration of Independence, so many of them working in the ranks. When the Revolutionary Army was at Valley Forge, in poverty, it was the Irish in Philadelphia who gave the money to take care of that Army. The best blood of Irishmen has been given to the cause of liberty and freedom in America and there is hardly a family to-day of any prominence in the United States that can not trace Irish blood back somewhere in its history.

I have lived 61 years in the city of Boston. Congressman Gallivan says it is the greatest Irish city in the world. I believe it is. And at the same time I believe, before God, there is no city in all the world that is more democratic, and no city in America which is more thoroughly American.

So I come representing the cardinal archbishop of Boston, the bishop of Boston, and 700 priests. I come representing 1,000,000 Roman Catholics of every nationality.

I have a petition addressed to the President, signed by the cardinal archbishop, the bishop, and priests of Boston, signed by the people of all nationalities asking for the one thing that brings us here to-day from California to the Atlantic Ocean, and from Canada down to Florida and the Mexican border.

We come to ask justice, and this war was fought for justice and right, and we ask that you, our Representatives, will remember that 20,000,000 and more of Irishmen and their descendants ask of you for that dear little old island so fondly loved by its children all over the world, in the name of the exiles who died here on our shores, in the name of the soldiers who have fought and died on fields of battle,

in the name of sailors who have raised the Stars and Stripes so high, and in the name of God, that you give to Ireland self-determination.

As Cardinal O'Connell said in his great speech at Madison Square Garden Tuesday night: "Ireland has fought for more than seven centuries for the right of the governed to be ruled only with their own consent." That is the principle which ultimately won America's freedom; and it is because America understands that principle that Ireland to-day relies upon America to echo it throughout the world for Ireland's liberty.

Ireland must be allowed to tell the world freely what she wants, how she wishes to be governed.

Ireland, among the small nations, is the longest sufferer. If the principle of right and justice for all is not applied in her case, there will be no complete justice, and the war, not bringing justice, will not bring peace.

Who was it but our own President Wilson who, by the enunciation of the great principles of justice, united the peoples of the whole world?

America has fought in this war not for selfish aims. She has given her best blood, her hardest toil and her enormous wealth, and in return gets not one foot of soil, not a single material gain. She has the right to demand that for which alone she has made such tremendous sacrifices—justice to all.

[Telegram to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs.]

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., *December 13, 1918.*

The following resolution was adopted at a regular meeting of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron-Ship Builders and Helpers of America, Lodge No. 6, San Francisco:

Whereas one of the purposes of the United States entering war was for the freedom of small nations, and,

Whereas Ireland, one of the oldest of the small nations, has for seven centuries suffered from the domination of a foreign power against its will, and

Whereas the success of all American wars has been largely due to citizens of Irish origin and extraction, and,

Whereas, there is now pending before Congress a resolution demanding that the forthcoming Peace Conference apply self determination to Ireland as well as to Belgium, Poland, Serbia, and the other small nations, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That we, the officers and members of the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron-Ship Builders and Helpers of America of Local No. 6, in regular meeting assembled recognize the claims of Ireland as just, and demand that favorable action be taken upon this resolution and that this resolution be telegraphed to the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, House of Representatives.

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF BOILERMAKERS,

IRON-SHIP BUILDERS AND HELPERS OF AMERICA, LOCAL NO. 6,

*The Anglo Building, Sixteenth and Mission Streets, San Francisco, Cal.*

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Chairman, all of the previous speakers have been of one faith. I would now like to call on Mr. James Thompson, of Kentucky, who is not of the same faith.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. JAMES THOMPSON, OF LOUISVILLE, KY.

Mr. THOMPSON. Mr. Chairman, I am not a speaker and I will only say a word. I come from Kentucky, which, I believe, was discovered by an Irishman, and a large part of our population is Irish, and they all have a very great interest in this subject.

I only want to indorse what Judge Scanlan and others have so very well said. We all are very much interested in this subject, and we hope you will consider the resolution favorably and report it to the House of Representatives.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JAMES A. HAMILL, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY.**

Mr. HAMILL. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I shall express but a thought or two which I think may be helpful to the committee, and then conclude.

This is an old question, and until the present war, a cause well-nigh hopeless. But the purposes avowed by the United States in declaring war, and the lending of billions of bullion, and millions of men to its support give us hope that the cause will be triumphant.

We, according to the words of the President, availed ourselves of the glorious privilege of spending our blood and our treasure in behalf of the principles that gave us birth. We went to war to make the world safe for democracy. We saw languishing under the heel of an oppressor beautiful Belgium. We looked to the east and we saw a condition even still more hopeless. We saw the Poles, the Croats, the Serbians, and the other small nations languishing under the despotism of the central empires and we declared that not only would they be emancipated from the shackles which bound them to the central empires, but that the entire world would be made safe for democracy. What did we mean by that? That meant that nations, instead of being subdivided on historical lines, would be subdivided on ethnological lines. That is to say, just like every family should be permitted to divide according to the trend of its genius, and that because some centuries ago one nation held another in servitude that would be no reason why that situation should be continued.

The Celt is absolutely distinct and different from the Saxon and for 700 years the people of Ireland have made a protest against being held in bondage. The protest has been made in the face of the world and has oftentimes gone unheeded. But now, according to our avowed purposes it will, we hope and confidently believe, be heeded.

Let us get out of the realm of passionate elocution and get down to calm facts. Why have not the people of Ireland more right than any other single race to ask the Congress of this country to declare in favor of their freedom? There is attributed to Mr. Josephus Daniels, our splendid Secretary of the Navy, that 40 per cent of our Navy were men of Irish blood, and that one-third of our Army were men of Irish blood.

Now, if other nations who are not so extensively represented in the citizenship of our country by their descendants have a right to demand freedom, so much the stronger reason for the right of the Irish people to demand emancipation.

Let me conclude by saying this, that we have made a glowing statement, which, if carried into practice, will ring down the centuries—to make the world safe for democracy. Now, if we are not a race of mere spread-eagle proclaimers, if we are genuine and not fraudulent, if we are real and not sham, if we are practical and not fanciful, then we will have the courage to reduce this glowing profession to a con-

crete and specific instance, and you, Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, will report this resolution, and you and I, and all our colleagues in both Houses will pass it without delay.

(Thereupon a recess was taken until 8 o'clock p. m.)

#### EVENING SESSION.

The committee assembled, pursuant to the taking of recess, at 8 o'clock p. m.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. THOMAS P. FAY, OF LONG BRANCH, N. J.

Mr. FAY. Ireland appears at the bar of justice in the court of the world, at a peace conference that is to be held in France, and asks for justice, and she calls the nation that rules her to the bar to answer that call. They are to decide in that court whether her wrongs shall be redressed and her rights shall be respected.

She pleads for the end of coercion; she pleads for the right of self-determination; and, greatest of all, she pleads for the right of liberty. She pleads with the same force and the same tone that that great American, Patrick Henry, pleaded the cause of American liberty. "Is life so sweet," he said, "as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? If such be, then give me liberty or give me death."

The Irish people have been longer in bondage than any other people on the face of the earth. They are prisoners now; they are occupying the jails of their oppressors. The prisoners of all lands are being released, but the patriots of Ireland are now in loathsome foreign jails simply because they are Irish patriots.

Everyone cried out against the massacre of the Armenians; everybody sympathizes with the Jews for the pogroms that have gone on; everyone feels sorry for the Poles. But why do the Americans remain quiet when the worst injustice of all has been meted out for centuries to the Irish nation?

We could not get any stronger language in favor of the rights of that nation than that which has been uttered by the President of the United States. He has pleaded the cause of small nations in no uncertain words.

Could anything be more clear than the attitude of the American Government when it was called upon to settle the affairs of the world? The President of the United States was allowed to be the spokesman for the world. He was the spokesman for the allies and he laid down the principles upon which they would meet and settle this greatest of world's wars. And none is better able to determine its interpretation as they sit around the peace table in France, and none is committed more to it than the Members of the Houses of Congress who stand behind these principles enunciated by the President of the United States.

They are what our country is committed to; they are what you are committed to as Members of Congress; they are what the American people are committed to. They are committed to justice to all nations, great and small; they are committed to the rights of humanity and to the rights of the people.

I will quote the language of the President to Congress on the 2d of April, 1917, when this country was committed to enter this great war. In closing, he said:

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

Is there a man in Congress who is not committed to that, when immediately after that address you passed the act declaring war? You remember you laid down the principle upon which we entered it; that it is the right of small nations and the right of free peoples to govern themselves. Every American is committed to it, and he can not get away from it and still be an honorable and true and straightforward American, who wants to follow and live up to the institutions and principles which have been established here, and which we all love so well.

The world is turning its solicitous eyes upon us. France, Italy, Serbia, and Poland are all turning their eyes toward us to find out whether we are honest in the declarations which we have made.

But, gentlemen, until justice is done for Irish cause, the men of Australia and Canada and America, who have made the greatest sacrifice of the centuries, will never let the world rest in peace until their dear cause is heard at the proper tribunal and settled honestly and right.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. Chairman, the committee this afternoon arranged a program, and the organizations represented here are very anxious that the speakers shall limit themselves to the subject matter of the resolution before the committee, and that no speaker shall be allowed more than the time allotted to him.

The next speaker is Mr. Charles J. Dolan, of Missouri.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. CHARLES J. DOLAN, OF ST. LOUIS, MO.

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, the question was asked this morning by the chairman as to when the common law was introduced in Ireland, and that has suggested to me that it would clarify matters if I were to recall the principal facts upon which the present relations between England and Ireland are based.

I have had exceptional opportunities for studying this question during two years when I represented an Irish constituency in the British Parliament.

Ireland was a nation with her recorded history for at least a thousand years before the English invasion. She was converted to Christianity 150 years before Saint Augustine arrived on his mission to convert the English. During the sixth and seventh centuries Ireland was the headquarters of missionary effort in Europe and was the center of learning. Her schools were crowded with students from every European country, and so many were there attending the great school of Armagh that one street in that town is still known as Saxon Street.

When the great religious Council of Constance was in session Ireland was recognized as one of the five ancient sovereign nations of the world.

In 1172 the English came. Holding at first only a very small part of the eastern coast, they gradually extended their conquest during the succeeding 500 years, in spite of the persistent opposition, until by the end of Elizabeth's reign the conquest of Ireland was apparently complete. In the next reign, that of James the First, took place the plantation of Ulster with English and Scotch settlers. The Ulster question dates from this time. A little later, in 1641, the native Irish rose in rebellion, and for eight years, during which time it was governed by a confederation of Irish and Anglo-Irish chieftains, Ireland was lost to the English crown. In 1649 Ireland was reconquered by Cromwell, and so thoroughly was the work accomplished that "the curse of Cromwell" is the bitterest malediction on the lips of an Irish peasant. It was at this time that the population of Ireland fell to 800,000 persons, as mentioned by Judge Scanlan this morning. The next event of importance was the winning of a free Irish Parliament in 1782 by the Protestant leader Henry Grattan and his Volunteers. Sixteen years afterwards English intrigue brought about the Rebellion of 1798. This was participated in by the Presbyterians of Ulster under the leadership of Wolfe Tone and Henry Joy McCracken and by the Catholics of the southeast led by Bagenal Harvey, a Protestant landlord of County Wexford. This rebellion, like all preceding ones, was extinguished in the blood of countless thousands of Irishmen.

The next notable event was the infamous union of the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland in 1800. The situation at this time may be best understood by reference to some comparative statistics. In the year of the union the population of Great Britain was ten and one-half million, and the population of Ireland was five and one-half million. Both countries possessed a national debt. Ireland's national debt was £28,000,000 while England's was £450,000,000. In 18 years England increased Irish taxation nearly twice and a half what it had been in the year of the union, but increased her own taxation by only one-quarter. By 1914 the taxation in England had been decreased 3 shillings per head compared with the taxation in 1819, while the taxation in Ireland had been increased 29 shillings per head. That is, Great Britain had received roundly a 5 per cent relief in taxation while Ireland had been burdened 200 per cent.

Two years after the union occurred the heroic and ill-fated rebellion led by Robert Emmet, and after this effort Ireland turned for a time to constitutional methods under the leadership of Daniel O'Connell, and demanded repeal of the Act of Union, a demand which was fundamentally different from the demand of home rule, inasmuch as the former seeks to restore an independent Parliament, while the latter seeks delegated authority from the English Parliament. Constitutional methods proved as futile as armed rebellion, and the Irish Nationalists again had recourse to armed rebellion, again under the leadership of a Protestant landlord, Smith O'Brien. This revolt was soon quelled, and was followed 19 years later by the Fenian uprising, after the temporary failure of which the majority of the Irish people turned once again to constitutional methods under the

leadership, first of Butt, then of Parnell, and finally of the late John E. Redmond. Once again faith in constitutional methods was shattered and the result was the rebellion of 1916.

The Irish nation has never voluntarily submitted to English rule at any period of its history. There has never been a moment since the fateful year of 1172, when, if the British armed forces had been withdrawn, Ireland would not have established an independent native government. It is the boast of Irish patriots that at least once in every generation Irish blood has been shed in attempting to end the English usurpation. At this moment Ireland is held in subjection by a British army of 250,000 men, and British and Irish jails hold more than 500 leaders of the Irish people, whose sole offense is that they have organized to win the freedom of their country.

The Irish nation has never surrendered its sovereignty. Although the majority would have accepted a measure of home rule at any time during the 40 years preceding 1916, it must be understood that they regarded home rule as merely an experiment in government, and that they expected that if the experiment should have proved successful Great Britain would have completed the reform and done full justice by restoring Ireland's national independence.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. Chairman, the next speaker will be Mrs. Adelia Christie, of Ohio.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. ADELIA CHRISTIE, OF CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Mrs. CHRISTIE. Mr. Chairman, representing the United Irish Societies of northern Ohio, I beg leave to add my voice and the voices of those whom I have the honor to represent to the pleas that have been made here for justice to Ireland.

We believe at this time that the passage of this resolution, introduced by Mr. Gallagher through the Congress of the United States, would strengthen the United States Peace Commission in any demands, or in a demand which we hope they will make for Ireland at the coming peace conference.

We ask, Mr. Chairman, only for a free Ireland. We ask that, in conjunction with all the other small nations, Ireland may be allowed to work out her own development, to look after her own interests, and to be governed and directed by a government of her own people. To this end, Mr. Chairman, we ask this honorable body to report favorably on this resolution and thereby gain for themselves the right to be enrolled with the galaxy of great men who believe in right and justice and in the enunciated principles for which this great American Republic entered and terminated successfully the present war.

Mr. GORMAN. The next speaker will be Mr. Clancy, of Minnesota.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. J. M. CLANCY, OF ST. PAUL, MINN.

Mr. CLANCY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am here representing the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, a federation with over 105 affiliated organizations and a membership of some 17,000.

Some two weeks ago at a special meeting, which they called for that purpose, they took up the question of self-determination for Ireland and the vote in favor of it was unanimous. They were told that the matter would possibly come before Congress. They wondered why any nation that had loved peace and loved liberty like the American people would have to have a delegation appear before them to ask them to try to get that same liberty and justice for another nation.

When I was coming over from St. Paul the mayor of our city, Mr. Lawrence G. Hodgson, gave me a letter addressed to me, and that letter reads as follows:

DECEMBER 10, 1918.

Mr. J. M. CLANCY,

*Commissioner of Parks, Playgrounds, and Public Buildings,  
St. Paul, Minn.*

MY DEAR COMMISSIONER: I understand that you are going to Washington and that you may have an opportunity to present to some official body the sentiments of our people relative to the recognition in the peace conference of the principle of self-determination for Ireland.

We had a very large and enthusiastic meeting of representative citizens a few days ago, in which this question was discussed very earnestly, and in a very remarkable spirit of patriotism, entirely free from bitterness and political bias.

The sentiment of that meeting was not the sentiment of any opposition to England, but a sentiment that the principle of democracy and self-government as vindicated in the war should be extended without discrimination to all peoples of the world in order that the readjustments of civilization should be without exception based upon the ideal that all social governmental processes should be the free expression of the people.

It would seem to be wholly illogical to apply the principle of self-determination only in part. The processes of democracy must include all peoples or they will in a vital sense exclude all peoples.

It was the earnest sentiment of our meeting that if a way could be found to take care of the Irish question along the lines of self-determination that there would be a much greater cohesion of national sentiment in America in favor of the program made up at the peace table.

If you find opportunity to present this view as the expression of a large number of St. Paul citizens, I will greatly appreciate it.

Respectfully yours,

L. G. HODGSON,  
*Mayor.*

## STATEMENT OF MR. STEPHEN J. McDONOUGH, OF BALTIMORE, MD.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I come from the city of Baltimore, which, as you know, has a large population of people of Irish blood and extraction. I live in the congressional district of Congressman Linthicum, who is a member of your committee and who will inform you that he has been elected four consecutive terms by the vote of the Irish people in his district. I just mention that to you to demonstrate that a man's nationality or creed is never taken into consideration by those of Irish birth; that, first of all, they want fitness, and nationality and creed are secondary considerations.

I had the honor of representing that district in the Legislature of Maryland for three terms, and during the war session of the legislature I introduced a resolution identical with the Gallagher resolution, which is before you, and I am happy to say that that resolution passed both the house and the senate of the Maryland Legisla-



ture without a dissenting vote, showing you gentlemen the sentiment of Maryland in behalf of self-determination for Ireland.

We are to have a meeting at the Auditorium Theater next Sunday night, and I am confident that there will be the largest outpouring of our citizens that has ever taken place in the city of Baltimore in behalf of self-determination for Ireland.

I trust you gentlemen of this committee will take into consideration what the Irish Parliament did many years ago when our country was fighting for its independence. The Irish Parliament was in hearty accord with the Americans and did everything in their power to assist the Americans.

Nearly 50 per cent of the Revolutionary Army was Irish, and in all our wars from that day to the present time no one can say that the Irish have not done their full duty.

So I sincerely hope and believe you will take the action our President has outlined in his pronouncement that no people shall be forced to live under a sovereignty which they do not wish to live under; that you will take that seriously and that self-determination will be accomplished for Ireland as it has been for the Poles, and the Czecho-Slavs, and the Jugo-Slavs, and all the other oppressed peoples, with which we are in hearty accord.

Mr. GORMAN. Our next speaker, Mr. Chairman, will be Father Howard, of Oswego, N. Y.

#### STATEMENT OF REV. TIMOTHY HOWARD, OF OSWEGO, N. Y.

Rev. Father HOWARD. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I simply want to emphasize my feelings in appreciation of the fact that you gentlemen, who are in a position to report this resolution out of committee, will do so from the point of view that as Americans you are called upon to exercise toward Ireland the same sentiments that were exercised toward us in the dark days of our sufferings, when we were fighting for independence.

A few months ago Gen. Pershing crossed the seas as the commander in chief of an army, an army that went over there to do its best in order that the people of the world might be free and enjoy the liberty that this country guarantees to its citizens. In doing so he went to the tomb of Lafayette and placed thereon a wreath and said, "Lafayette, we have come to pay the debt we owe to you and the French, from which you sprung across the seas a hundred years ago to help us in our trying difficulties."

I assure you, gentlemen of the committee, if you take into consideration the feelings of the Irish and the Irish Americans in this country, if you report this bill, as we earnestly pray you to do, so that it will come on the floor of the House for a vote, that not a hundred years will pass before the gratitude of the Irish in Ireland and their descendants in America shall be laid at your feet, gratitude that shall have its origin in the hearts of the Irish people for the freedom that shall be theirs for all the generations to come.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like some of the speakers to address themselves to the question of the propriety of the Congress passing a resolution requesting our commissioners to the peace conference to urge the dismemberment of a nation with which we were associated in the war. We are all in sympathy with the spirit of the resolu-

tion: we believe the Irish to be a great people and feel that they should have the right of self determination. I believe such is the sentiment of the people of this country. The serious question is the propriety of this resolution in circumstances in which our Government is confronted. I have had a request for hearings in opposition to it, and I would like somebody to address himself to the propriety of our passing the resolution.

MR. RAGSDALE. May I ask, Mr. Chairman, does the passage of this joint resolution necessarily mean the dismemberment of any of our allies?

THE CHAIRMAN. It does not necessarily mean that; but it does mean that we urge action by our commissioners to the peace conference which would lead to that. This resolution requests our commissioners to the peace conference to urge the freedom and separation and self-determination of Ireland. If that does not mean the dismemberment of the British Empire, I do not know what it does mean.

Judge SCANLAN. Mr. Chairman, we have a set program this evening, and the speakers, because of the fact that they have been told that they are going to be limited in time, have been trying to concentrate their thoughts, and its would probably be very difficult for them to go into that phase of the situation at this time, and I would suggest that to-morrow morning the speakers give it special attention.

THE CHAIRMAN. I would be very glad if some one would deal with that phase of the situation before the conclusion of the hearing.

MR. KENNEDY. Our next speaker, Mr. Chairman, will be Mrs. Ellen Ryan Jolly, of Rhode Island, past president of the ladies' auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of America.

**STATEMENT OF MRS. ELLEN RYAN JOLLY, LL. D., OF PAWTUCKET, R. I., PAST PRESIDENT OF THE LADIES' AUXILIARY OF THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS IN AMERICA.**

MRS. JOLLY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: In the few minutes allotted me to-night to address you upon the subject matter of these resolutions, I shall not have time to present my views as fully or as elaborately as I would wish. For 700 years the Irish people have been subjected to grievous wrongs. But now we may entertain the hope that the day of their deliverance is not far distant. The resolutions before you provide that self-determination shall be given to the people of Ireland; that they shall finally and for all time decide for themselves the system of government under which they shall live. I am confident that this honorable committee will report a resolution through which the plenipotentiaries at the peace conference on the soil of France, representing the various nations of the world, will be apprised of the widespread conviction in America that the doctrine of self-determination shall be applied to the settlement of the Irish question. I am confident, too, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, that Congress will pass the resolution, for no man or body of men can oppose a proposition which merely makes a request that freedom to choose its own way of life shall be granted to a long-suffering people.

In the early days of this country there lived here a gentleman named Charles Thompson. He was born and educated in the north of

Ireland. In religion he was a Presbyterian and, like every true patriot, he knew that there is nothing in religion unfavorable to freedom. He was secretary of the Continental Congress during all the deliberations of that body. After the passage of the stamp act John Adams, of Massachusetts, wrote to Charles Thompson and said: "My dear sir: The stamp act has passed. We must light the torch of economy." But the Irish-born Thompson replied: "We shall light the torch of national independence." That was the spirit which animated the bosom of Thompson. That was the Irish of it. Our devotion to that doctrine, Mr. Chairman, causes us to assemble here to-night. We are here in liberty's name. We are here to ask the Congress of the United States to pass a resolution whose purpose is to permit Ireland, the oldest of the nations, to light the torch of Irish national independence.

No one who knows the history of Ireland or the history of the Irish people in America will hesitate to lend his support to this meritorious cause. This proposition should command—and I am sure it does command—universal assent. It involves a basic principle of government which can not be stifled—the fundamental principle proclaimed by the Revolutionary fathers of America which will ring down through the ages until time is no more—that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. There were 28 persons of my name who fought at Bunker Hill, 28 Ryans, and I rejoice that their names will ever remain upon the American roll of honor.

The Continental Congress was composed very largely of men of Irish blood. Up to the coming of the French, the Irish in the Revolutionary War, according to the records of Galloway, numbered 100 to 1 in comparison with the other European nationals who participated. They stood beside Washington and supported him throughout the great struggle. They were with him at Valley Forge when the Tories of that day and generation were breaking his heart.

Ireland, out of her poverty, has contributed much to America. Her sons have always been ready to bear their portion of the burden in every crisis through which this country has passed. This is the record of history.

The names of Emmet, Wolfe Tone, and Lord Fitzgerald have been prominently mentioned in the course of this hearing here to-day, but thus far no one has mentioned the name of Flood. Among the most illustrious of the united Irishmen was the namesake of the chairman of this committee. Mr. Chairman, I salute you, a son of the Gael, and I know that Ireland's cause must be safe in your hands.

MR. GORMAN. Mr. Chairman, our next speaker is Mrs. Mary McWhorter, national president Ladies' Auxiliary, Ancient Order of Hibernians of America.

#### STATEMENT OF MRS. MARY McWHORTER, OF CHICAGO, ILL.

MRS. McWHORTER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, at this time—

MR. KENNEDY (interposing). You are national president of the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of America?

Mrs. McWHORTER. Yes. I am here, Mr. Chairman, to represent 75,000 American women—women of Irish blood. The great majority of those 75,000 women are mothers of sons who have made a wonderful contribution to present American history.

Since Good Friday, 1917, when our great President Wilson declared that it was necessary for America to take a hand in settling European troubles, in the discharge of my official duties I have visited no less than 30 States in the Union. I have spoken in towns and villages to the number of five and six in each one of those States, and for what purpose? To carry a word of cheer to the mothers of those boys who have gone over there, some of them never to come back, Mr. Chairman.

It was my particular duty to carry a word of cheer to help keep the morale of my people. The sons that those mothers gave to American greatness were sons that were badly needed in the homes. Their salaries were needed, and you will admit that a soldier's pay is a mighty poor substitute for the salaries those boys were bringing in weekly to the mother who is concerned with the things of the home.

The statesmen speak in great big terms of things that, God help us, we poor women sometimes do not understand, and yet each of you gentlemen owes something to your mothers; you owe something of your position to your mother; and, as I have gone among those poor mothers, as I have addressed them, I have tried to take to them something to cheer them along, because this war came upon us suddenly, and a great many of them did not understand why their boys were taken out of their homes and sent over there. They were not concerned very much with the things outside of their home. The world passed on and left them behind, if you will, and it was my melancholy privilege to tell groups in these villages, in the towns, and in the cities the wonderful way that the administration of our Government was taking care of the material comforts and needs of those boys; that they need not have any fear that the Government of the United States would leave any stone unturned for the physical safety of those boys.

Then I carried a word of cheer about the spiritual safety of the boys.

Each time I made my talk they came up and passed by me. Pressing my hand with their toil-worn hands, they would say, "I have one boy," "I have two boys," "I have three boys," and "four and five over there." They would say, "Do you think, Mrs. MacWhorter, before they come back they will set old Ireland free?" That is the burden of the thoughts of the women I represent to-night.

I had the honor to come to Washington last July to represent a mothers' mission, bearing a petition to the President of the United States from the mothers, asking him, in the name of their boys, that they had given to him, to vindicate those wonderful principles of democracy that nowhere on earth will you find the principles of democracy kept so pure and so fresh as in this great American country of ours.

I came here from Ireland a number of years ago, but I did not come here in a spirit of hatred, and at no time in the discharge of my official duties have I preached a legacy of hatred to my people. I have preached only remembrance, because there is danger in forgetting. But as the vision of hope has flowered forth in all the brightness and purity of that land over there, I prayed that that dear land

would some time come into her own, and that hope was never brighter than at present.

The case of Ireland, so far, has been taken very good care of. Other distinguished speakers will follow me, so I am not concerned with facts and figures. I am speaking to you in the names of the mothers of those boys that have helped to make such a wonderful record for our America on the other side.

You have heard about the wonderful contribution that Ireland has made to American greatness and to the world's greatness, if you will. Ireland, bound in slavery, making such a wonderful contribution to the greatness of this country and other countries where they have obtained a foothold. What, then, gentlemen of the committee, would not Ireland free accomplish for the world's greatness?

Gentlemen of the committee, as I look into your faces I feel that there is not one among you who will fail to vote favorably on this resolution, so that it may come before the great body of lawmakers of this country of ours.

**ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF HON. JOSEPH McLAUGHLIN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA.**

Mr. McLAUGHLIN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: For this early opportunity to say a word in support of the resolution offered by me in the House of Representatives, on December 2, 1918, on the right of Ireland to self-determination, permit me to tender my most sincere thanks.

Though I have had the experience one derives from living in a country that is governed by another country without the former country's consent, I shall leave the details to be presented by some one of the other speakers who will address your honorable body on this subject.

Asking for self-determination for Ireland does not make us any less Americans. We Americans of Irish lineage are away from Ireland—away forever—our interest being based on the justice of her cause and in the love we and our children have for her. Our Americanism can not be consistently challenged, for all true Americans are friends of freedom, and can not advocate freedom for all the world and ignore Ireland. It is a fact, indeed, that were Ireland free tomorrow, we, citizens of Irish blood, would continue to make our homes here in America.

Impoverished and misruled, Ireland offers no field for either fame or fortune. It has been truthfully said that Ireland is a fruitful mother of genius but a barren nurse. England appropriates to herself the fame of Ireland's most gifted sons. "She has gathered brilliant Irishmen as she would have gathered diamonds in Irish fields." In the eighteenth century she closed the schools, made the teacher a felon, and afterwards charged the people with ignorance.

Do you wonder, gentlemen, that Ireland longs and prays and hopes for the right of determining how her sons shall manage the government of their own country? It is certainly no more than England would demand if the cases were reversed. I recall that Mr. Froude, an English historian of the last century, on being asked, "What England would do if Ireland treated her as she treated Ireland?" replied: "Oh, England would get out of it somehow." Of course, she would, and she would be justified in doing so, and so is Ireland

justified in endeavoring to get out of England's clutches, and until she does, the world will not have been made safe for democracy.

"No nation," said President Wilson, "must be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live." Ireland to-day is being forced under a sovereignty under which it does not wish to live, and in behalf of that country, I am here to ask that the United States Congress, through your honorable body, urge President Wilson to include it among those nations for which he will demand at the peace conference the right of self-determination.

The Irish Nation is one of the oldest in Europe. It possesses a history reaching back to the earliest ages of civilization. Her soldiers have written their names on the records of many armies, and her statesmen have lent their intellects to the service of many nations. During our own Revolution no more potent voice was raised in favor of American liberty than that of Ireland's distinguished statesman of the day—Edmund Burke.

The armies and navy of the Colonies contained a large percentage of men of Irish blood—in fact, in all our wars, on every page of our history, the heroism of the sons of Ireland flashes in eager service in everything that contributed to the power and glory of this great Republic, these sons of Erin having gladly struck and died for the land that held their allegiance. In the late war, the war waged by our country for the vindication of the principles of democracy, citizens of Irish blood were among the first to give unquestioned loyalty to authority.

Ireland was made a nation by Almighty God. She is the real mother of Parliaments. She was old when Christianity exiled the Druids from their sacrificial forests. Her commerce was known throughout the then known world. Her military fame was equally celebrated. Her soldiers trampled down the Roman fortifications and were ascending the Alps when lightning struck down their daring leader. The English yoke is naturally galling to them.

England's blighting rule has done more than impoverish the people of Ireland. She frowned the name of Ireland out of Goldsmith's "Deserted Village"—made her own of Tom Moore—starved Edmund Burke into giving her the matchless service of his life—hid away the distinguished grandson of Richard Brinsley Sheridan under the title of Lord Dufferin—disguised the brilliant Henry Temple as Lord Palmerston, and, among thousands of others, transformed Margaret Power into the Countess of Blessington. When the conqueror tells us that "all the good and great and illustrious that we produce are his, and that all the evil and passionate and worthless that we produce are ours," we experience the bitterest pang of conquest. This was the spirit that took from Ireland the honor and profit of thousands of Irish men and Irish women who have won distinction in letters, law, science, war, and statesmanship.

If Ireland be given the right of self-determination—given the right to work out her own salvation in her own way and to develop her powers and resources—her men and women of genius will not have to seek other fields for the employment and development of their talents—these fields will be found at home, and the greatness of the country will be correspondingly enriched. England can starve and oppress Ireland, but she can neither conquer nor annihilate

her. She can sweep millions of the Irish people out of the country and fill it with other races, but even then the latent life in the soil, the traditions, the sacrifices, the buried patriotism would come out and be breathed into the blood of the newcomers, until, in a generation or two, they would be as strong Irish (those that were not enjoying some special privileges) in their sentiments and aspirations as the original Irish Celt.

Neither Sarsfield nor Emmet, two of Ireland's most idolized patriots, were of the ancient race, and a reading of a list of the latest victims of English misrule will reveal names of men not of Irish origin, yet men who proved they were "more Irish than the Irish themselves."

We wish to see Ireland take her place among the nations of the earth. It is not a selfish ambition, and we, consequently, gentlemen, count on your powerful assistance; we wish to see her made a country in which her sons and daughters may win coronets more precious than ever conferred on either king or kaiser—coronets awarded because of intellectual eminence.

We desire that Ireland's claim to a place at the peace conference be heeded, and it is my firm conviction that Ireland, blessed with the right of self-determination, the name of our great President will be breathed as a benediction by millions now living and millions yet unborn for his championship of the rights of small nations.

In the late war, the war waged by our country for the vindication of the principles of democracy, citizens of Irish blood were among the first to give unquestioned loyalty to authority. As national president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians of America, the representative organization of the Irish race in this continent, on February 5, 1917, two months before the declaration of war, I telegraphed President Wilson from Philadelphia "the unswerving loyalty of 250,000 Hibernians in America in any conflict that might arise between this and any nation in the world." The President's reply, sent on the following day, read:

Your generous message of February 5, pledging the administration the unswerving loyalty of 250,000 members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, is very heartening to me, and I thank you and them for this inspiring reassurance."

How well that pledge was fulfilled was seen even in those trying days which preceded the processes incident to the application of conscription, the voluntary enlistment of citizens of Irish blood, proving their eagerness to serve and defend the Nation. The pledge was fulfilled in all the various war efforts of the fraternity and the race—efforts on the enumeration of which it is now needless to dwell.

On war being declared, the National Hibernian, the official organ of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America, said editorially:

There comes a time in the life of nations, as of individuals, when the issue is life or death, honor or shame. Such a time now exists. Old prejudices, old suspicions, ancient wrongs, and memories of injustice and the traditions of defeat are swept away in the supreme test of loyalty to the institutions of the great Republic. The conditions which now confront the Nation are not to be changed by words; they can only be ruled by the sword. The opinions of citizens are puerile; the fiat of the Government at Washington is vital. There is now but one law—instant and unquestioning obedience to the voice of authority. The man who quibbles is a fool; the man who hesitates is a coward; the man who defies is a traitor.

The casualty lists proved beyond all doubt the whole-hearted Irish participation in the war which followed this call to arms. In their enthusiasm citizens of Irish blood swept over all barriers of remembered wrong to sustain America's declaration to make the world safe for democracy. The Irish race in America has never remained aloof from any of the responsibilities of citizenship. It has ever sought its burdens and borne them with honor and with a loyal determination to justify the reputation of its sons for patriotism, they being Americans from the moment their feet touch American soil. Our race stood beside the cradle of America. Irish soldiers followed Montgomery to Quebec; charged with Moylan; struggled over the wall at Bennington with Stark; crowded through the gates of Stony Point with Mad Anthony Wayne; rushed with Gen. Hand at Brandywine Springs; and, charged with Fitzgerald at Monmouth. They climbed over the sides of hostile ships with Jack Barry, father of the American Navy; were with Jeremiah O'Brien when he fought the first sea fight of the Revolution; and with Gen. Sullivan when he fought the first land battle; and were in the Mexican War with Shields and Kearney. They charged with Meagher at Marys Heights; with Sheridan when he snatched victory from the jaws of defeat at Winchester; stood in the breach at Gettysburg; died in the swamps of Chickahominy; and fell like wheat before the reaper on the sides of Malvern Hill. They stood on every field from Balls Bluff to Appomattox, wearing the grey under the dauntless Pat Cleburne as proudly as they wore the blue under the gallant Phil Sheridan. They fought in the late war—the war for democracy—with the old spirit, with the spirit that has breathed through their history for a hundred generations of Saints and scholars and soldiers; that spirit which lives triumphant after armies have been destroyed—the immortal spirit of human liberty which survives all its champions.

Centuries before the Congress of the United States declared war for the freedom of small nations, countless millions of the Irish race had registered a vow to live and die for the freedom of their own small nation. When this Government chose the path of war and announced to the world that the sword would not be sheathed until the world was made safe for democracy—until all the small nations of Europe were accorded the right of self-determination—the right of determining for themselves, by a majority vote, under what form of government they would live—can you wonder that the sons and daughters of Erin in every land are thrilled with the prospect of a free Ireland?

At the peace conference they will look to President Wilson, representing the most powerful of the free nations of the world, to demand that the chain which has so long fettered the aspirations of their race shall be broken, and they look hopefully to this Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Congress of the United States to encourage and sustain him in that demand, to the extent of reporting favorably to the House of Representatives the resolution introduced by me requesting that Ireland be granted the right of self-determination.

No force is more potent in the destiny of a race or a nation than its ideals. The similarity of the ideals of America and Ireland are striking. The people of both nations have followed freedom as a beacon through the clouds of war and the mists of peace. The Irish



people and the people of America have fixed their faith upon the rights of men to life, liberty, and happiness.

In conclusion, gentlemen, I appeal for your favorable action on this resolution—appeal to your high sense of justice and real Americanism—that the call of Ireland may be answered—that she may enjoy the realization of a deathless ideal—Ireland a nation!

#### STATEMENT OF MR. JOHN A. MURPHY, OF BUFFALO, N. Y.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I represent, in a general way, the business aspect of the city of Buffalo. I have for 30 years been in business there. At a recent meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of Buffalo one of the most enthusiastic statements was received by the membership of that organization in regard to self-determination for Ireland. That organization, as a pure business organization of the city of Buffalo, manifested beyond a shadow of a doubt that the business heart, the professional heart of the average American citizen, regardless of his blood or descent, is unquestionably in favor of the intervention by the United States on the question of Irish self-determination.

If our own great President desired any limitations upon the application of that principle which he has enunciated, both on our entrance into the war and on the 14 points upon which he has said to the world peace shall be declared, he would have said so. He said what he meant, and he meant what he said.

The only premises upon which the application of those principles can possibly be argued or denied is on the ground that Ireland is not a nation. He has unqualifiedly spoken for all nations. If, gentlemen, the objections we hear raised were to be raised at any time that the relation between England and Ireland is a domestic question and not an international one, then was the time for that question to have been raised.

The CHAIRMAN. When we entered the war?

Mr. MURPHY. When we entered the war and when our cobelligerents accepted our aid, when our declaration of principles was made for the purpose of winning the war, upon those grounds our aid was then accepted. Then the words of our President were accepted, at least tacitly, by the world, and the aid we gave and the help we sent in men, money, and in munitions justify us in insisting that his declarations be now applied in their entirety. I have a son over there, and he went when the President called him, or he would be no son of mine.

My point is that Europe, inviting us to participate, and we accepting their invitation, having set forth the terms upon which we were entering the war, that if England or any other nation desired to raise objection to our terms, that was the time to raise the objections or forever after hold their peace.

Mr. GOODWIN. And they are now estopped?

Mr. MURPHY. And they are now estopped. I am not a lawyer, but I know what that term means.

Now, the question is, Is Ireland a nation? I will take you to the English statute books to prove it.

In 1782 what is known as Grattan's statute was enacted. Grattan was assisted in securing its enactment by that illustrious namesake

of the chairman of this committee, Flood, and they placed upon the statute books of the English Parliament a law which was in brief a declaration by the English Parliament that no power or authority was to be exercised over the people of Ireland except their own power and authority, and that nobody but the people themselves had the power to bind the people of Ireland.

For a period of 18 years following the passage of that act Ireland was comparatively free. It is true the same King occupied the two thrones, but they were economically and politically apart. During that period of 18 years of limited suffrage I venture to say that no other country of Europe showed like period of prosperity and absence of turmoil and trouble.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall to what extent the population increased at that time?

Mr. MURPHY. Not alone the population increased but the industries and wealth of the country were greatly enhanced under the Grattan-Flood Parliament, but I have not the exact figures here.

Mr. PORTER. I would suggest if they have census reports of Ireland we would like to have them filed.

Mr. MURPHY. We have some statistics of Irish population here. I now wish to take up another point in reference to this question, Mr. Chairman. It was my fortune to visit Ireland two years ago as a member of the American relief commission for Ireland, of which the three cardinals were honorary presidents, and made the arrangements by which over \$200,000 were sent from America to relieve the widows and orphans and suffering and hunger and want that existed by reason of the rebellion in Ireland during Easter week, 1916.

I found that Ireland is as firmly held under martial law as Belgium had ever been held. I drove with Sir John Maxwell and his chief of staff through Phoenix Park, Dublin, and Sir John Maxwell said to me, "Outside of the sedition Ireland is practically crimeless." Those are his words; that outside of sedition—that was his definition of the uprising—that Ireland was practically crimeless.

Then we saw the streets of Dublin. It occupied a week. There were 30 blocks in the heart of the city which were leveled by incendiary shells and something over \$30,000,000 of damage inflicted upon the civil population.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that the number of volunteers from Ireland, in comparison to population, compares very favorably with the number from Scotland?

Mr. MURPHY. This is the history of the war in Ireland, that for the first six months of the war Earl Grey said in all the terrible business Ireland was the one bright spot. The devastation of Belgium appealed to the Irish, as a matter of sympathy, in a most extraordinary manner. The volunteering in Ireland at that time was greater than in England for a certain period. Then home rule, instead of being put into law, and the good faith of England having been pledged to its fulfillment, was pigeonholed and indefinitely postponed. That is what Mr. Lloyd-George then termed a piece of "malignant stupidity," and nothing but malignant stupidity could have so changed the heart of Ireland from what it was at the outset of the war.

Really, "malignant stupidity" is a fair and honest description of the dealings of England with Ireland, because any other nation on

earth would have found comfort and support in a sister isle, after all this period, if it had been managed in any other way than with malignant stupidity.

Now, I think one of the questions that is occupying your minds is the right or propriety of our entering into the question as an outside nation. I have endeavored to show that anybody is estopped from objection on that ground. I have endeavored to show that Ireland is a nation, and I am not going to take your time to prove that. Its history, its people, its art, its literature, and language have all shown that.

Among the handicaps to-day on Irish industries are:

(1) The unparalleled conditions of the Irish railways, controlled by boards of English directors, with freight rates that prohibit all successful competition.

(2) Unfavorable conditions imposed by Irish bankers, who are controlled by the Bank of England.

(3) Through the practical closing of Irish ports and gradual absorption of the Irish merchant marine Ireland is compelled to export through English middle men.

(4) The consequent dependence of marineless Ireland upon England for the raw material necessary for manufacturers.

(5) The excessive price of coal in Ireland, because the English-controlled railways in Ireland have consistently refused to build spur lines to Irish coal mines, and the Irish manufacturer is compelled to buy Welsh coal.

(6) The deliberate policy of both political parties in England to prevent the industrial development in Ireland, a policy which Arthur Chamberlain condemned in Dublin in 1896. (See statement of Arthur Chamberlain to Arthur Griffith in Dublin, July, 1907; *Nationality*, July 31, 1915, Miss Hughes's remarks, p. 75.)

(7) English buyers mainly demand Ireland's cattle on the hoof. There are some 12,000,000 acres of grazing land in the country, on which only the young cattle are raised and shipped across the channel to England, where they are fattened and then killed and dressed in English abattoirs and sold back to the Irish people as "English prime beef." The English middle men in this way cause a loss to Ireland of some \$5 per animal, as well as the valuable by-products, and the Irish land suffers from the loss of the manure. There are few large cattle slaughterhouses in Ireland.

Living for 21 years in Ireland, and having visited it so many times since I left there, having been in many of the counties of Ireland more than once, and having been in all of them at least once, and having a larger acquaintance through the length and breadth of Ireland than almost any man who has visited there, I want to say to you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that the Ulster question is a myth; it is a straw man set up to perpetrate an injustice.

I wish I could read to you the official proclamation of the Irish Republic on Easter Monday, 1916. It was without malice and hate, and without religious animosity of any sort or character.

It seems to me almost incumbent upon the Congress of the United States to maintain the honor and dignity and prestige of the President. He has a long vision; seeing beyond to-day and to-morrow,

and he sees that there is being offered to Europe a new thought and a new right, and through him I hope, sir, and believe, the world will have achieved emancipation and freedom that might be likened even to the freedom of the world that was born at the crucifixion, 2,000 years ago.

MR. RAGSDALE. The chairman asked you as to the relative number of men who went into the army from Ireland, Scotland, and England. Have you the figures? That is, the relative number of men who served as volunteers in this war?

MR. MURPHY. While I was there in July, of 1916, I was informed that up to that period 170,000 had joined the colors in Ireland from the entrance into the war up to the time of the revolution. This was in addition to the number of Irishmen in the regular army of England prior to the war.

MR. GOODWIN. One hundred and seventy thousand?

MR. MURPHY. Yes.

MR. PORTER. Does that exclude the Irish in Scotland and Wales?

MR. MURPHY. Yes, sir; it is just the Irish from Ireland.

MR. PORTER. Have you an estimate as to that number?

JUDGE SCANLAN. The report of Lord Wimborne to Kitchener, in July, 1916, showed that there were Irishmen in the regular army in 1916, 51,046, including those in the regular-army reserve; that the Irish enlistments to 1916 were 170,000; that the Irishmen in English and Scotch regiments numbered over 35,000; that the Irishmen in the navy 8,456, with 7,000 later recruits, making a total of Irishmen in the army and navy of over 271,592. Then there were in the naval reserves over 4,000, which made a grand total of over 275,592.

MRS. B. J. MANONEY. Mr. Redmond demanded on the floor of the House of Commons to know how many Irishmen had volunteered during 1916, and the figures given were 170,000 from Ireland.

On a careful estimation it is evident that Irishmen in the British forces, including those from Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, England, Scotland, and Wales, totaled more than 500,000.

JUDGE SCANLAN. It was stated in the British Parliament a year after the war began that Ireland had shamed England in the matter of volunteering for the army.

THE CHAIRMAN. As I understand it, the population able to bear arms was 778,631, and there were in the regular army and of those who volunteered and in the Navy 275,000.

MR. MURPHY. Yes; and that the casualty rate was greater among them than any other arm of the British service.

MR. CHAIRMAN, having interviewed a large number of men in Ireland both before and after the Irish uprising I found no hatred of England in Ireland. I found no pro-Germanism. I found nothing that would not permit Irishmen to live in harmony and peace with Englishmen; all they wanted was to control their own destiny.

MR. PORTER. Is there any embargo on the shipment of manufactured goods from Ireland to the ports of France and England?

MR. MURPHY. You can not ship them there direct. No line is drawn, but you can not ship if you have not the connections and if your banker is tied by a contract from your London house. There is no law on the statute books against it, but there is something more potent than law.

Mr. PORTER. Does this something more potent than law prevent Ireland from shipping manufactured goods directly to America?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAGSDALE. You maintain that the control of English shipping makes it impossible for the Irish manufacturer to find any markets abroad?

Mr. MURPHY. The fact that the Irish manufacturer must ship through England militates in various ways against the successful competition of Irish goods in foreign markets.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. PADRAIC COLUM, REPRESENTING THE IRISH PROGRESSIVE LEAGUE OF NEW YORK.

Mr. COLUM. Mr. Chairman, I represent the Irish Progressive League of New York, and desire to reply to an inquiry that one of your members asked of us this morning. The inquiry was, How would a separate Ireland organize itself. I think you also had in mind what relations a separate Ireland would have to the minority, and with England, and I am here to reply briefly to that inquiry.

I think you also had in mind that Ireland was very small and very poor, and could not maintain a separate existence. I would like to show you a comparison between Ireland and other small and independent nations in Europe. Denmark has an area of 15,338 square miles; Ireland has an area of 32,571 square miles. The normal revenue of Denmark in recent years was about \$38,000,000, whereas the revenue raised in Ireland in 1917 was over \$140,000,000. That is overtaxation, and the result of such overtaxation has produced the deepest sort of economic degradation in Ireland.

Perhaps you will be surprised to learn that Ireland has the lowest marriage rate in Europe. The people in Ireland marry at a much later age than any people in Europe.

As regards the organization of a separate Ireland, that organization would be republican, and the policy of that republican Ireland was announced in the proclamation of the Irish republic in Easter week, 1916. It guaranteed the freedom of religion, freedom from tests to every minority in Ireland, and it was promulgated at that time to give the franchise immediately to the women of the country. We would be perfectly willing that the minority in Ireland should have a local organization, to look after their economic interests, etc., provided, of course, that organization did not break up the unity of the country.

Some gentlemen to-day asked as to the propriety of this country proposing that a cobelligerent of this country should dismember itself. You will remember, Mr. Chairman, that that proposition, if it is a proposition for dismemberment, has already been made by a great English party, the English labor party, when they declared that Ireland should be freed. If it is asking a cobelligerent of America to dismember herself, a great English party has already declared that that should be done.

Mr. Chairman, I should like you to know of an announcement made by Prof. McNeill, one of the Sinn Fein leaders. He has said in an article in the English Review that what is holding the world

back is the ideas of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which are now out of date—the idea that all States are sovereign and independent. The idea of the twentieth century must be that States are not independent, but are interdependent, that they are interdependent upon each other just as individuals in society are interdependent, and that idea is the one which President Wilson advocates, and it is found to prevail all over the world. In a society of nations, interdependent, there need be no conflict between Ireland and England.

The republican organization in Ireland is exceedingly strong. The general election is scheduled for England and Ireland this week. Already the Irish Republic party of Ireland has won 25 seats absolutely uncontested; that is to say, one-quarter of the possible seats in Ireland are handed over without a contest to the Irish Republic party, which shows how strongly the Irish Republic party is organized in Ireland and with what loyalty the people of Ireland back that organization. It is very surprising that the organization of the Irish Republic party is so strong, considering that all of the leaders of that organization, with one exception, Prof. McNeill, are imprisoned and have been in prison since last May and will not be given a trial, but will very likely be held in prison until after the general elections.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to say also that a free Ireland will also mean that Great Britain would be freed from many of the perplexities which sorely try her. The most unholy form of government in the world is the government of one country by another country. It is bad for both countries. Great Britain will be far more secure when she agrees to self-determination for Ireland than she is at the present. At the moment Great Britain has a bad conscience about Ireland. She can not urge many measures, because the question would be asked, "What about Ireland?"

We are asked how about this Irish minority in the matter of self-determination? The minority vote in other countries is much larger and better organized than the same sort of a minority in Ireland. In Bohemia there is a large German population—having all the industries and all the high positions—that is completely against Czecho-Slovak self-determination, and yet the Bohemians are going to set up a separate organization, they are going to treat the minority well, just as we are going to treat our minority well.

I thank you exceedingly, Mr. Chairman, for your patient hearing.

Mr. PORTER. Can you tell us what percentage of the \$140,000,000 raised by taxes is expended in Ireland?

Mr. COLUM. It is very difficult to tell that, for this reason, that there is no separate Irish budget, but it is in the neighborhood of \$50,000,000.

Mr. KENNEDY. Did they not have a financial commission in 1894 which went into that question?

Mr. COLUM. Yes.

Mr. KENNEDY. What was the conclusion of that committee?

Mr. COLUM. The conclusion was that Ireland had been overtaxed to the extent of \$15,000,000 a year over and above what the committee considered Ireland's proper contribution to cover expenditures in Ireland and to the imperial exchequer. The inquiry went back for about 80 years. There have been no separate Irish accounts. One

and one-half billion dollars now is owed by England to Ireland, for which they have never made a single cent of recompense since 1818, and that does not take into consideration the very large amount England has gotten from Ireland since the beginning of this war.

Mr. KENNEDY. Do you mean to say that a financial commission reported that England owes that amount to Ireland?

Mr. COLUM. Yes. The commission was ordered by Gladstone, and then, Gladstone having gone out of power, the succeeding government failed to carry out the recommendations of the commission. It is called the report of the Childers commission.

Mr. SABATH. In what year was this report made?

Mr. COLUM. In 1894 and 1895.

The findings of the Royal commission on the financial relations between Great Britain and Ireland were:

I. That Great Britain and Ireland must, for the purpose of this inquiry, be considered as separate entities.

II. That the act of union imposed upon Ireland a burden which, as events showed, she was unable to bear.

III. That the increase of taxation laid upon Ireland between 1853 and 1860 was not justified by the then existing circumstances.

IV. That identity of rates of taxation does not necessarily involve equality of burden.

V. That, whilst the actual tax revenue of Ireland is about one-eleventh of that of Great Britain, the relative taxable capacity of Ireland is very much smaller and is not estimated by any of us as exceeding one-twentieth.

Mr. Childers, the first chairman of the commission, in his report states, with regard to the statement in V of the findings:

If the revenue derived from Ireland were in proportion to this relative capacity, it would be about two and three-fourths millions (pounds) a year less than, in consequence of the existing incidence of taxation, it at present is. (Par. 291, Childers's report.)

Extract from report by Mr. Sexton and others of the committee:

The revenue actually raised in Ireland during the period of the separate exchequers and "contributed" since then (according to Treasury computations) has amounted to about £570,000,000, or an average approximately of £6,000,000 a year, being double the amount stated as the fair proportion of Ireland in view of her relative capacity.

These statements with regard to the overtaxation of Ireland were repeated in the separate report of the Hon. Edward Blake, M. P., the only native of North America who was a member of the commission. He further comments regarding the commission's estimate of Ireland's relative taxable capacity (one-twentieth) " \* \* \* her relative capacity, which, as already indicated, we all agree is full, and which some of us think much too high."

And, I may add, it was further borne out at this commission by the testimony of Mr. Lough, M. P., that this overtaxation in Ireland was peculiarly onerous because it was mainly extracted from the poor wage-earning and agricultural classes rather than from the profits of industries as it had been in the prosperous period of Ireland's own Parliament under Grattan and Flood.

Mr. Lough also proved by official figures that "whereas in Great Britain in the (past) 30 years pauperism has halved; in Ireland in the 30 years it has doubled." It was also brought out at the commission that Charles Booth, the noted English publicist and statistician, decided after a complete survey of Irish returns up to

1885 that "an absolute industrial decadence" had settled upon that unhappy land.

Mr. DOLAN. Mr. Chairman, I would also like to speak on this question, because I have made a study of Irish estimates. The revenue collected by England from Ireland in 1912 was \$60,000,000. Ordinarily there was a margin of about \$10,000,000 that went annually into the British treasury which was used for imperial purposes, and that \$10,000,000 extra is in addition to about \$15,000,000 which the Childers Commission found that Ireland was overtaxed annually. Since the war the Irish revenue has been increased enormously because of additional taxes, so that this year the taxes raised in Ireland amount to \$140,000,000, and of that sum about \$60,000,000 has been expended by England in governing Ireland and the balance has gone for imperial purposes. The Irish people hold that they could govern themselves on the present basis with an expenditure of \$40,000,000 annually.

Mr. PORTER. That \$60,000,000 does not include Ireland's proportionate share for the maintenance of the British army and navy?

Mr. DOLAN. No; that is according to the figures published by the British treasury officials.

Mr. RAGSDALE. What do you mean when you say that the Irish revenue has been largely increased?

Mr. DOLAN. I mean the revenue collected by England from Ireland in the shape of taxes.

#### **STATEMENT OF MR. THOMAS ROCK, OF NEW YORK, N. Y., REPRESENTING THE CENTRAL FEDERATED UNION OF NEW YORK.**

Mr. ROCK. Mr. Chairman, I represent the Central Federated Union of New York, comprising a membership of 300,000. With your kind permission, I will read a resolution passed by that organization on November 22, 1918. This resolution was passed by that body representing 300,000 working people, of all races, of our cosmopolitan city. It will show you how the working people of the city of New York feel about the question of self-determination for Ireland.

The resolution is as follows:

We, the Central Federated Union of New York, the accredited representatives of the largest aggregation of organized labor in the United States, in regular meeting assembled, on November 22, 1918, hereby resolve:

1. That we appeal to President Wilson, on the eve of his departure for France to take part in the forthcoming Peace Conference, to bring before that body the claim of Ireland to national independence and to demand for her people the right of self-determination, to which he has repeatedly declared that all peoples are entitled, and to secure which for the downtrodden populations of the Old World he has proclaimed to be one of America's objects in the war. On the strength of this declaration the American people sent their sons into the Army and Navy and poured out their blood and treasure lavishly; and Irish citizens performed their full share in the fighting and the other sacrifices.

2. Belgium, Serbia, and Roumania, whose territory was overrun and occupied by the forces of the central powers, have been cleared of the invader; the Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, Jugo-Slavs, and Lithuanians have been liberated by the victory of the United States and the allies over Germany and Austria, and the Ukrainians by the collapse of the Russian Czarism; Palestine, Syria, Armenia, and Arabia have been made free by England's victory over Turkey, and other long submerged peoples see the dawn of their freedom and a result of the breaking up



of empires founded on conquest and spoliation. Ireland has the same right to freedom as all these other countries and her people the same right to determine their own form of government. They have fought and struggled for it for many centuries and are now more united in the determination to secure it than at any time in the past 700 years.

3. By all the tests recognized by the governments and peoples which have overthrown the German autocracy and which will be represented at the Peace Conference, Ireland has all the elements of nationhood. She has a homogeneous population, with capacity for government long recognized in the United States and the British colonies and amply demonstrated by the Irish Parliament during the short period of its independence, from 1782 to 1800. She has a separate and strongly marked geographical position, the finest harbors in Europe, and unrivaled water power; great natural resources, now undeveloped because of the greed of the capitalist classes who control the Government of England and who by prohibiting legislation, destroyed her once flourishing industries and crippled her economic life. This treatment has reduced the population of Ireland from 8,500,000 in 1846 to 4,300,000 in 1918, a fact which clearly demonstrates the necessity of a complete change of government.

4. But Ireland's chief claim to rule her own destinies rests on the natural rights of man and the wish of her people, expressed by every available means in the most unmistakable manner in every generation for several centuries. England's failure to govern Ireland well has been demonstrated with equal clearness and force during the same period. She holds Ireland down to-day by military force alone, by a reign of tyranny paralleled only in the Russia of the Czars. It violates every right of citizenship and fills the prisons with hundreds of men and women whom the government refuses to bring to trial for the self-evident reason that it has no evidence to prove the charges against them with which it has flooded the press of the civilized world.

5. Aside from the moral obligation of applying to Ireland the right of self-determination to which our worthy President has declared that all peoples are entitled, there is an unanswerable material reason. It was the contribution of the United States in men, munitions, ships, food, and money which was the decisive factor in the final defeat of Germany. The freedom of Ireland, which would remove one of the incentives to future wars and help to insure the world's peace, would therefore be a small favor to ask of England, while France and Italy, who are under such tremendous obligations to this Republic, should be ready to join America in effecting an amicable and satisfactory settlement of a question that has troubled the world so long and will continue to disturb it if it is not now settled right.

6. We have the strongest sympathy with the people of England, whose workers are now determined to secure their own rights and to win their proper share in the government of the country; and we are fully convinced that the settlement of the Irish question in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Irish people would be a lasting benefit to the English people as well as to the Irish. We are satisfied also that if President Wilson, at the peace conference, presses the demand which we respectfully recommend, he will receive the support of our fellow workers in Great Britain, who have no interest in keeping Ireland down.

These resolutions which I have just read were passed unanimously by a rising vote amid great applause of the delegates.

The Central Labor Union of Philadelphia also passed a similar resolution, and the trades-unions of Ireland—there has been some mention made of the religious question—the Trade-Union Congress of Ireland has made a demand for self-determination and freedom for Ireland, and a great majority of the members of the Trade-Union Congress of Ireland are Catholics, while the president of the organization is a Protestant by the name of Johnson.

Several of the speakers have touched on the economic question. I want to mention something that happened about five years ago.

The White Star Line and the Cunard Line, having by order of the British Government abandoned Queenstown as a port of call, the Hamburg-American Line advertised bookings for Queenstown, and

the German Government was notified by England that if any of the German lines of steamers made Queenstown a port of call that would be looked upon as an unfriendly act, and the German Government immediately notified the Hamburg-American line to cancel all their bookings for Queenstown. At this same period the Hamburg-American Line was calling regularly at the English ports of Southampton and Plymouth.

On behalf of the labor unions of New York I appeal to this committee to report favorably the Gallagher resolution, which has been spoken on here to-day and this evening.

Organized labor is a unit in favor of self-determination and freedom for Ireland.

I assume there are Republicans on this committee. I am one myself. I saw in one of the papers where some of our organizations are passing resolutions in favor of self-determination for Ireland, and the governor of the State of New York, Gov. Whitman, was one of the principal speakers at the Madison Square meeting last Tuesday night.

This is not a one-sided affair, Mr. Chairman. The entire citizenship is in favor of self-determination for Ireland.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I desire to present to the committee for insertion into the record a copy of resolutions adopted at the mass meeting of the citizens of Lowell, Mass., December 8, 1918, as follows:

The United Irish Societies of Lowell, Mass., in a mass meeting assembled for the purpose of giving expression to their views as American citizens upon the application to Ireland of the principles of President Wilson for the "Rights of small nations" at the coming Peace Conference, and as Ireland is one of the small nations and has struggled for her independence for over 700 years and never admitted the right of any country to rule over her—has been held under an alien government against her will—and while her sons have in the war just ended shed their blood for the freedom of small nations and to make the world safe for Democracy—fighting under different flags, and under none more proudly than under the flag of our beloved United States, which was the deciding factor in winning and ending the war: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we as American citizens and lovers of liberty for all the peoples of the world respectfully ask the committee on Foreign Relations of Congress to act on the several petitions now in the hands of the committee on Foreign Relations, asking that the case of Ireland be presented to the coming Peace Conference, and that Ireland's case be given the same place at that Conference with that of Poland, Serbia, and the other small nations for self-determination as to the form of government under which they shall live; and that they shall not be forced to live under a Government not of their own choice: And be it further

*Resolved*, That we fully indorse the principles laid down by President Wilson for the self-determination of small nations, which if not carried out the war will have been fought in vain and the world will not be made safe for democracy: And be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the Committee on Foreign Relations of Congress, and to our Congressman from this district, and to our senior Senator from Massachusetts.

MICHAEL J. MONAHAN.  
MICHAEL J. SHARKEY.  
JAMES O'SULLIVAN.  
JOHN BARRETT.  
FRANCIS KEARSE.  
JOHN J. KENNEY.  
JOHN McENERNEY.  
PATRICK J. MAHONEY.  
PHILIP J. HARLEY.

The CHAIRMAN. How many more speakers have you?

Mr. GORMAN. Four more.

The CHAIRMAN. It is getting a little late and some of the members of the committee think we ought to adjourn unless we can finish quite soon.

Mr. GORMAN. I do not think it will take long to finish these four, but, of course, if we are to hear all of the speakers who would like to be heard it would consume two hours more.

The CHAIRMAN. We will continue a little longer to-night. You may present your next speaker.

Mr. GORMAN. I will call Mr. Coyne.

# **STATEMENT OF MR. THOMAS COYNE, REPRESENTING THE TEAMSTERS OF ST. LOUIS, MO.**

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Coyne.

Mr. COYNE. I represent an organization of teamsters which includes in its membership in the neighborhood of 7,000 men of St. Louis.

I also speak as a member of the Central Trades and Labor Union, which union has not been able to hold a meeting to indorse the proposition that is confronting us to-day, but I speak on behalf of them, that we are for the freedom of Ireland. We are for the freedom of all nations.

If we are going to have peace, let us have a real peace. When we look back at the 700 years of sorrow and strife in the land from which many Irishmen and Irish women came to these shores, and from which the forefathers of others born here came to this land, we feel that the critical moment is here.

You gentlemen can help us.

We are all here to try to help you.

And, for God's sake, and for the sake of labor, which is fighting desperately every day for freedom, we ask you in the interest of all peoples that are crying for freedom, let us have an everlasting peace. I thank you.

Mr. GORMAN. There are three others on this list, besides many others who would like to be heard. There are some Members of the Congress who would like to be heard to-night, and in order to give them the opportunity perhaps the other speakers may be reserved until morning.

The CHAIRMAN. The Members of Congress could be heard in the future, for they are here in Washington, and it would not inconvenience them to be heard later, I take it.

Mr. GORMAN. I understand that some of them would prefer to be heard to-night on account of other engagements which might prevent their appearance at another time.

Mr. EAGAN. I have got to be at a meeting of the Committee on Appropriations in the morning, and I will only take about three minutes if I can get the opportunity to be heard to-night.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be glad to hear Mr. Eagan.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN J. EAGAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY.**

MR. EAGAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I can not take the time I should like to take on a matter of such great importance as this resolution. I shall take occasion, on the floor of the House, to go into the matter fully. But here to-night I want to summon as a witness in answer to any objection that may be raised as to the indelicate position we may get into, internationally or diplomatically, in adopting the proposed resolution, if there is any such danger—and I do not think there is—a gentleman whose position on the subject of the rights of small nations has been made known to the world in a way that has never been equaled. The gentleman to whom I refer will land to-morrow morning at Brest, in France, from which port Count Arthur Dillon and 2,300 Irish soldiers sailed for America prior to the time that Lafayette and his gallant troops—many of whom, by the way, were Irishmen—left to help achieve independence for the American Colonies. I am going to summon as my witness our great President, Woodrow Wilson. [Applause.] In his speech delivered in New York, on September 27, at the Metropolitan Opera House, in opening the fourth Liberty loan campaign, he propounded these inquiries:

Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?

Shall peoples be ruled and dominated, even in their own internal affairs, by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?

Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?

Shall the assertion of right be haphazard and by casual alliance, or shall there be a common concert to oblige the observance of common rights?

No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it; and they must be settled—by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests, but definitely and once for all and with a full and unequivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as sacred as the interest of the strongest.

I respectfully submit, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, that it is the profound conviction of the people of this great Republic that the nations that have been associated with us in the conduct of the great war will not seek to impose a rule of conduct on the vanquished central powers and their allies that they will refuse to adhere to themselves. The subject peoples of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey will be permitted—and should be permitted—to determine for themselves the precise form of government under which they shall live. The Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks, the Jugo-Slavs, the Armenians, and other peoples, long held in subjection, will, and should, be organized along governmental lines of their own choosing.

The Gallagher resolution simply asks that the peace commissioners representing the United States of America at the Versailles Conference be requested to urge upon that conference the right of the people of Ireland to determine for themselves the form of government under which they desire to live—in a word, to apply to Ireland the principle on which our own Republic was founded,

namely, that "all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Our country has always been quick to express its sympathy for peoples struggling for freedom, and for no other people has it felt and more frequently expressed a deeper sympathy than for the people of Ireland. There has never been a time when our sympathy for struggling nations will be more potent than it will be at the forthcoming peace conference.

I am heartily in favor of the Gallagher resolution or any other resolution on similar lines which your committee may see fit to report to the House.

Mr. GORMAN. Mr. Phelan would like to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be glad to hear Mr. Phelan.

**STATEMENT BY HON. M. F. PHELAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.**

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, it was my intention to speak to-morrow rather than to-night, but the chairman has asked a question and nobody has answered it. I shall not attempt, coming unprepared, to answer that question by going fully into it; in fact, I should not attempt to answer that question in three or four minutes, which I suppose is all I will have, but I do want to have some comment made upon that question before this meeting closes to-night, and that is my reason for speaking here now.

The chairman asks if there is any precedent. I will answer that, in what is perhaps a typical Irish way, by saying, No precedent is necessary.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not ask if there was any precedent. If a proposition is right and its propriety clear we do not need a precedent to justify action. I—

Mr. PHELAN (interposing). I am not including your whole question, nor using your exact words, which I could not remember. But precedent is often the obstacle to progress. If we depended upon precedent President Wilson would not land in Europe to-morrow and be at the Peace Conference. If we had depended upon precedent the United States would not be represented at a peace table to settle affairs in Europe, not to mention the bigger world affairs. If we had depended upon precedent the United States would not be a cobelligerent, or ally, or whatever else you want to call our status, with European nations in the world war. But coming down to precedent—and I am relying now upon a very hazy recollection, but I have the recollection that in times of peace the Congress has unhesitatingly indicated its sympathy with small nations seeking their independence, notably in the case of Greece. I might also make brief reference to Cuba.

A COMMITTEEMAN. Did not Congress also pass resolutions relating to the Jewish condition in Russia?

Mr. PHELAN. Yes; we did. And we abrogated our treaty with Russia on account of that situation. That is all bearing on that same point.

But to get down to the meat of this question; here is the question I ask every member of this committee to propound to himself

before he reaches a final conclusion as to how he is going to vote on this resolution [H. J. Res. 357]. I want him to say to himself, Suppose the American people want the claims of Ireland to be presented at the Peace Conference, how are they to be presented? Will you answer me that the members of the Peace Conference themselves will voluntarily take up this question? If you do, I will say to you in reply, with all the respect I have for the peace conferees from this country, that the Congress of the United States, elected by the votes of the people of the nation, is a higher and better authority to speak for the American people than any peace conferees except the President himself sent from this country on that particular question. [Applause.] At least we have an equal right, and it comes well within our province to express our opinion if we see fit to do it.

I want this committee to consider another thing in this same connection. I want them, before determining how they are going to vote, or, I ask them respectfully before they determine how to vote, to answer another question; not to me but to themselves: Suppose Ireland instead of being located out in the seas were located in central Europe, in the midst of Germany or Austria or Bulgaria or Turkey. Suppose her history were similar to what it is; that conditions in that country were similar, with similar people occupying her territory; similar in every respect and in every condition, including her internal conditions, and including her relations with the power dominating her, is there any member of this committee, is there any liberty-loving American in this whole land of ours, who would hesitate one second on Ireland's cause and say other than that Ireland ought to have the right of self-determination, as to Germany, Austria, Bulgaria or Turkey? Is there one? Remember that when we say Poland ought to be free we are not saying it with the idea of vengeance. We are not saying it with the idea of handicapping or punishing any one of the central powers. We say Poland should be free because it is just that Poland should be free. We are judging that case. America is not now at the peace table to punish even our enemies. We are there to establish justice in the world. And, as I say, in passing upon Poland it is simply and absolutely a question of justice.

Why should Ireland's cause be determined on any different basis? Assuming the justice of Ireland's claims—and there has been abundant and positive evidence introduced on it to-night without me introducing any more—we come then down to this question: Shall the United States of America, or shall its people, or shall its representatives in the Congress, take the position that Ireland, as a part of a country in central Europe having a just claim, should have us defend that claim, but that Ireland should be denied the right of having us say one word in her behalf because it happens that she is subordinate to and dominated by one of our cobelligerents?

Do you want testimony on that position? My friends, President Wilson made a remarkable statement, considering the time when he made it, in New York City, in a speech he made there some few weeks ago, in which he said something like this: I may forget the exact words, but he said, "We must be just not only with those with whom we wish to be just, but we must also be just with those with

whom we do not want to be just." Borrowing from his idea, and adding, perhaps, what would be a corollary, I submit to the members of this committee that in passing judgment upon this cause we must pass judgment with a view to justice not only to the small nations and the small peoples who are asking for self-determination among our enemies, but also we must treat with justice those small people and those small nations who are seeking self-determination among our friends.

And with that statement, my friends, I close. [Applause.]

Mr. GORMAN. Congressman Donovan would like to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be glad to hear Mr. Donovan.

**STATEMENT BY HON. J. F. DONOVAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK.**

Mr. DONOVAN. After the very able summary by Mr. Phelan it ill becomes me to say anything, for it would be so much like attempting to paint the lily. But as a New England Yankee, born in that State whence to-morrow, I understand, will come somebody in opposition to your adopting this resolution, I want to say, as a son born in that prejudiced city of New Haven, where up until the adoption of the Federal Constitution, state and church were joined together, and where no one could hold office except he be a Congregational minister, for no other creed was recognized, I repeat that whomever or of whatever type may be he who is coming to-morrow, I want you to put me up against him as being born there, and to say that my Americanism is above his, because I believe in worldwide democracy.

It is not necessary for me to dilate on the reason or the occasion why this resolution should be adopted. That is elementary, gentlemen of the committee. The exposition of the speakers here, if there was any doubt, has convinced you. And you are all thinking men. You are Americans, and you are in the great acceptance of the term Democrats—Democrats for the entire world, and at this time it is most appropriate that this matter should be discussed and considered.

Now, the question before you for consideration is, whether or not you should adopt this resolution, and whether it can be put through on its passage, and what is the purport of it if you do adopt it. I think this, my friends, that you are going to stiffen those men at that Peace Conference and at the peace table. They are the same as yourselves—Americans to the core; liberty loving men. They were taught and breathed in from their school books, as I certainly did, in New England, of the Boston massacre, and of the Tories, and so forth. You all know, and will admit with a certain feeling, that England often with us was sharp in her dealings. But we set that aside, and so did you all, for the war in the interest of humanity. And now we are met to carry out the principle for which we contended. And here is this isle, the home of my forbears, and I believe you, as American men, and the nation in general, desire that those men sitting at the peace table across the seas shall be advised that the American Congress suggests and demands and prays and hopes that the cards will be laid squarely and fairly upon the table, along

with the pack from the other places, and that the game will be played fair, and that Ireland will be given self-determination.

I thank you, gentlemen of the committee. [Applause.]

Mr. DALTON. Mr. Chairman, I desire to go upon record as submitting arguments to-morrow morning on the propriety of your acting upon this resolution.

A COMMITTEEMAN. Please advise the committee, as to the question of propriety, whether you are going to speak for or against the resolution?

Mr. DALTON. For the propriety of the proposed action.

A COMMITTEEMAN. You are in favor of it?

Mr. DALTON. Most certainly.

Mr. GOODWIN. I move that the committee do now rise.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask Mr. Gorman, or Mr. Gallagher, what arrangements or program have you for to-morrow?

Mr. GORMAN. There are other gentlemen who want to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. How much time do you want?

Mr. GORMAN. If we may be permitted it will take several hours, but we can finish in two hours. We will try to complete our side to-morrow morning, when others, who will want to speak, will be here.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that embrace the president of the organization?

Mr. GORMAN. All who want to be heard.

A VOICE. Members of Congress, too. If there are Members of the Congress who want to be heard the delegates will be glad to give way to them.

Mr. GORMAN. We can complete the hearing in two hours.

Mr. EAGAN. Could we be advised when the other side will be heard?

The CHAIRMAN. That side has not been presented to the committee yet. I was informed by Mr. Tilson to-day that there was a gentleman from his State who wanted to heard, or who wanted to arrange for a hearing.

Mr. GORMAN. Will there be an opportunity in rebuttal?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will hear the request.

A COMMITTEEMAN. Is that request from one or many?

The CHAIRMAN. The chair is not advised.

Mr. GALLIVAN. I believe those here will welcome anyone who wishes to speak in opposition.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the gentleman has a right to be heard, if he wants to be heard, and in a very respectful way. We want to hear gentlemen whether for or against the resolution.

Mr. GALLIVAN. That is just what we have been contending for. We do not want the opposition under cover, we want it right out in the open.

Mr. PHELAN. May I submit some names for the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. PHELAN. The following would like to be recorded in favor of the resolution: John T. Hearne, of Westfield, Mass.; John Reidy, of Springfield, Mass.; James J. Fitzgerald, president of the A. O. H.; Patrick Haggerty, of Springfield, Mass.; James J. Morrissey; Dr. John F. Kelly, of Pittsfield, Mass.; John J. Curley, of Boston; Richard Dwyer, State president of the A. O. H., Boston; and Humphrey O'Sullivan, of Lowell.



The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now rise until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, and give you two hours further for the hearing, as we must adjourn at 12 o'clock to go to the House.

(And, at 10 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.)

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
*Washington, D. C., Friday, December 13, 1918.*

The committee met at 10 o'clock a. m. in the hearing room of the Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives Office Building, Hon. H. D. Flood (the chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. You may proceed, Mr. Gorman.

Mr. GORMAN. I desire that Mr. Richard F. Dalton be allowed time this morning at the beginning of the session. After that Congressman Gallagher will apportion the time of the other speakers.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dalton, we will hear you now.

ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF MR. RICHARD F. DALTON, OF NEW YORK.

Mr. DALTON. I desire to express myself more particularly on the question raised by the chairman on yesterday as to the propriety of the Congress of the United States taking action at the present time upon such a joint resolution as that presented by Representative Gallagher.

In that connection I desire to point out that the resolution is in no way directed to any one of the foreign powers. Neither is that resolution directed to the peace conference as such. That resolution is directed and is but a respectful expression of opinion to the plenipotentiaries of the United States representing the people of the United States at the peace conference. That resolution does not and need not create the sentiment which has been so freely expressed before this committee during your hearings on yesterday as seeking to determine the political future of Ireland. It does not seek to say to the people of Ireland that their form of Government should be this, that, or the other. It does not seek to say to the peace conference that the peace conferees should fix the form of government for the people of Ireland. The resolution, as I understand the germane portion of it, contains the idea of self-determination for the people of Ireland, and that the plenipotentiaries of the United States to the peace conference should ask for the people of Ireland the right of self-determination in order that the people of Ireland may themselves decide, without any suggestion whatsoever from us as the United States of America, or from other nations of the world, upon the kind of government which they desire.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 357) would accomplish the same purpose if we were to strike out the words "freedom, independence, and" and let the question presented to the plenipotentiaries at the international peace conference be the right to self-determination?

Mr. DALTON. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that would weaken the resolution?

Mr. DALTON. I do not think it would weaken the resolution in any sense whatsoever. The words "freedom and independence" might possibly be held to predetermine the case, and I feel it was out of the greatness and bigness of Mr. Gallagher's heart that the words "freedom and independence" found their way into the resolution. What he wants and what we want is merely the right to the people of Ireland to express themselves by way of self-determination.

Mr. GOODWIN. That self-determination is in fact freedom and independence.

Mr. DALTON. Provided the people of Ireland in a plebiscite favor it. I want to say that this is the only opportunity through the legislature of the Government to point out the desires of the people, and that after all the Senate has the ratification of treaties within its purview. This is the only opportunity for the great liberty-loving American people to say to their delegates at the peace conference. It is our wish, it is our desire, that the people of Ireland should be accorded the right of self-determination. And I submit that the resolution as drawn, with the possible amendment that is suggested, would simply be a respectful expression of the opinion of the American people to their delegates abroad that self-determination should be applied to Ireland. And when you consider that the Irish question is not a domestic question but an international question, a disturber of the peace of the world, such expression would seem to be necessary.

Ireland has been invaded several times during the last three centuries at the request of the Irish people for aid in the overthrow of English rule, and the same thing will undoubtedly occur again if English rule be allowed to remain either in its present or in any other form.

Spain sent an army to Ireland in 1603 to aid in an Irish insurrection.

In 1689 France, under Louis XIV, sent an army to Ireland, and it fought, in conjunction with an Irish army, until the fall of Limerick in 1691.

From 1796 to 1798 the French Republic made three separate attempts to invade Ireland at the solicitation of Theobald Wolfe Tone, the envoy of the United Irishmen.

Napoleon had a large army mobilized at Boulogne and ready to invade England and Ireland, but changed his mind.

In 1866 and in 1870 the Fenians invaded Canada and had the sympathy of many American public men and offers of service from several American generals, both Union and Confederate.

It will doubtless surprise you to hear that Gen. Phil. Sheridan, one of the four great soldiers of the Civil War, was ready to stake his military reputation by taking command of the Fenians if they could supply him with 30,000 men fully armed and equipped. They could readily supply him with 30,000 veterans of the Civil War, but the arms, equipment, and money for transportation were beyond their powers.

And I submit to you that as history teaches in the past it is only fair to look to the future, and only fair to assume that the people of Ireland will be looking to armed intervention, and the peace of the world must be disturbed unless the people of Ireland have self-

determination. So I say, not only in justice to the people of Ireland but to the people of the United States, and in justice to the people of England themselves, we who have our faces far away from the struggle, so far away that we can see the situation fairly, we should say in the name of the great liberty-loving American people to our plenipotentiaries that the time has come to settle that question which for centuries has disturbed the world; that the time has come to give the people of Ireland the right of self-determination. [Applause.]

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Chairman, I understand that there is some gentleman present who wants to speak in opposition to the joint resolution. If he is here, I suggest that he be now heard.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Fox, how much time will it take for you to present your side of the case?

Mr. Fox. I could take two hours. I want to bitterly oppose the adoption of the resolution as a miserable insult to the people of the United States and of England.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman should be a little more conservative in his language.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Not knowing that the gentleman would come here, the time has been allotted in a measure, but I suggest that the committee allow the gentleman 10 or 15 minutes to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. Fifteen minutes, I should say.

Mr. GALLAGHER. We can not shut off other speakers who have come here, but I suggest that the committee give the gentleman 15 minutes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. We will determine that.

Mr. Fox. Should not the opponents of the resolution have as much time as the advocates of the resolution?

The CHAIRMAN. The situation is this: These gentlemen who favor the resolution asked to be heard. The Committee on Foreign Affairs met and determined to give them a hearing, which action was taken a week ago. We had no request for time to be heard in opposition to it until yesterday. In the meantime a great many ladies and gentlemen have come here from all parts of the country to be heard, and the time has been apportioned. We have had two hearings, and consumed about five hours. We are now having another hearing, to consume about two hours. When Mr. Tilson spoke to me about your request I told him I would consult the committee and see if we could not hear you this morning. This morning we must rise at 12 o'clock, and these ladies and gentlemen have come from long distances—

Mr. Fox (interposing). I have come from a long distance, too.

The CHAIRMAN. At the same time I want to give you a hearing, and was making the suggestion to the committee that we hear you for 15 or 20 minutes and let the other side proceed as far as they could.

Mr. GALLAGHER. The gentleman can have the privilege of extending his remarks. That will be accorded him, I take it.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be for the committee to determine.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Well, I was making a suggestion.

The CHAIRMAN: If that is agreeable to the other side and agreeable to the gentlemen of the committee, Mr. Fox may proceed now.

## STATEMENT OF MR. GEORGE L. FOX, OF NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Mr. Fox. I am going to take what I can get. I know the Irish question from A to Z. I could talk two hours on an analysis of Cardinal O'Connell's speech—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). We have not got two hours that we can give you.

Mr. Fox. I came as soon as I saw a piece in the New Haven paper that there was going to be a meeting of the friends of Irish freedom.

Mr. GALLAGHER. This is a hearing by the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not the fault of the committee that you did not get the information a week ago. We fixed the time for this hearing a week ago, and it was published in the papers all over the country.

Mr. Fox. I do not want to be obdurate, but it seems to me that both sides should have the same time.

The CHAIRMAN. If you bring delegations from different parts of the country we will try to arrange a hearing for them. This morning you have come, and we will give you 15 minutes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Don't you think it is arrogating a good deal to yourself when you want to take all the time on the side of the opposition for yourself?

Mr. Fox. I think I should take the time necessary to represent the opposite side; and there are many people in my situation in this country.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Whom do you represent, Mr. Fox?

Mr. Fox. I represent myself.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Fox, I suggest that your time is being taken up by this discussion on the time to be allowed you. I move that the gentleman from Connecticut be given 20 minutes. No other speaker has had more than 10 minutes, and that is just twice the time allotted to any other speaker.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed, Mr. Fox, and you may have 20 minutes.

Mr. Fox. For 30 years I have been a student of the Irish question—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). What is your business?

Mr. Fox. A teacher in the university school of New Haven, Conn., and engaged in preparing pupils for college for 40 years.

Mr. KENNEDY. Teaching what?

Mr. Fox. All subjects that are included, except physics and chemistry. I was invited by a prominent leader of Great Britain, now a private citizen, to take part in the campaign of 1910, and suppose I am the only man in America who has had a chance to speak there 40 times. At that time I was a great admirer of the nationalist side and urged home rule for all Ireland except Ulster, and am willing to stand on that now. I have been an earnest student of the Irish question for 30 years, and have been reading Gaelic-American papers for 30 years, and I think I have the best library on the subject that I know of. But I want to protest in the strongest way against the adoption of such a joint resolution as this coming from the Congress of the United States, because it is contrary to the policy of the United States, and because many of the men who urge its adoption are men

who have no right to claim anything because they were not heart and soul in favor of the allies. They wished, many of them, that Germany should win. In proof of that I am going to read a resolution of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, adopted in Boston on July 21, 1916, which shows that they were in hearty sympathy with the Germans—our enemies, who were sinking our ships—and expressed their cordial sympathy with the Germans and the hope that they might be successful in the war, which, as we all know, was being waged against civilization and against humanity, and that Germany might beat England:

[Resolutions adopted by the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Boston, July 21, 1916; taken from the Boston Herald of July 22, 1916.]

England's achievements against Ireland have been marked by crimes against civilization such as have never been surpassed even by England in the long record of murder that stains her history.

The fraternal understanding which unites the Ancient Order of Hibernians and the German-American Alliance receives our unqualified indorsement. This unity of effort in all matters of a public nature intended to circumvent the efforts of England to secure an Anglo-American alliance have been productive of very successful results. The congratulations of those of us who live under the flag of the United States are extended to our German-American fellow citizens upon the conquests won by Germany over England and her allies, and we assure them of our unshaken confidence that the German Empire will crush England and aid the liberation of Ireland and be a real defender of small nations.

The trouble is that these men favored Germany in the war, and still they come in here and ask the Congress of the United States to adopt a joint resolution that they have no right to ask the Congress to adopt, and which they have no right to present. If Germany had won, they would have had to go before some other peace conference aligned with Germany, but when the empire which they have supported was beaten they switch around and ask the United States to go to that peace conference in their behalf. I say they are not in a position to ask such a thing.

Mr. RAGSDALE. May I ask one question there?

Mr. Fox. As many as you please.

Mr. RAGSDALE. That is very kind of you. Do you take the position that American citizens have no right to petition the American Congress to pass a joint resolution?

Mr. Fox. I take the position which former Speaker Cannon took, that it is entirely a matter for England to decide, just as it is entirely a matter for us to decide whether we shall give Porto Rico or the Philippines representation with voting power in the Congress of the United States or alter things in the South. That is quite a proper position.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Your position, as stated just a minute ago, is that these people, because they wanted Germany to win in the world war, have no right to petition the Congress of the United States to adopt this resolution?

Mr. Fox. I say when they showed themselves to be supporters of Germany—not only our own enemy but the enemy of our cobelligerent England, but France, Belgium, and the civilized world—they are not in a position and should not come to the Congress of the United States and ask favors.

Mr. PORTER. What about the rights of the 280,000 and more Irishmen who fought all through this world war under the English flag and helped to bring about peace?

Mr. FOX. That is not a question for us to decide. They fought under the flag of their own country and did their part as citizens of that country, just as the Scot and the Welshman did. But so far as that is concerned, they formed a very small part of the English Army.

Mr. PORTER. Don't you think they have some rights?

Mr. FOX. Undoubtedly. But how do you know that they want independence?

Mr. COOPER. They formed a very large part of the male population of Ireland, did they not?

Mr. FOX. I can not say that it did, taken as a whole. A great portion of Roman Catholic Ireland raised a million dollars to stop conscription. They were not in favor of it and sought to prevent it by force, if necessary, in direct opposition to the laws of their country, which laws the other portions of the empire respected.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Do you think that a resolution passed by some organization prior to the war, when we were neutral, expressing sympathy for Germany should bring about a denial of the rights of Irish men and Irish women—

Mr. FOX (interposing). Why, certainly not.

Mr. RAGSDALE (continuing). Wait a minute—to offset the claims of these Irishmen who fought in the world war?

Mr. FOX. You do not know what the Irishmen want who fought in the war. These men here did not fight!

A VOICE. Did you? [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that resolution?

Mr. FOX. July 21, 1916.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you anything that you can read adopted since April, 1917?

Mr. FOX. Oh, no. But I can bring to you lots of newspapers showing—

Mr. RAGSDALE (interposing). Can you say how many Irishmen fought in this war against—

Mr. FOX (interposing). No; and nobody else can tell. But there were not anywhere near as many Irishmen fighting in this war as Englishmen.

Mr. RAGSDALE. You did not hear the end of my question?

Mr. FOX. I think I did.

Mr. RAGSDALE. How many Irishmen have fought in this war against America?

Mr. FOX. Well, I should suppose that possibly 200 fought in the war against America; that is, fought in the German ranks.

Mr. SABATH. Where do you get your figures from?

Mr. FOX. From a man who has been in the war. He said he saw a grave of an Irishman on the German side after the second taking of a place by the allies.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Would you say that because 200 Irishmen out of the whole nation fought on the German side that the Irish nation was disloyal?

Mr. Fox. I would not; but I was talking about the position of Irishmen in this country, and what they are now asking of the Congress of the United States. Cardinal O'Connell did his best to keep us from going into this war. I can point out to you in the columns of the *Irish World* many articles——

A VOICE (interposing). So did Mr. Wilson try to keep us out of this war!

Mr. RAGSDALE. Conscription was objected to in Australia.

Mr. Fox. Australia is entirely different from Ireland. Australia never had one cent out of the British treasury. Australia is a self-governing colony. In 1800 Ireland, by the will of a strong Roman Catholic population, joined the union of the British Empire, and therefore no Irishman has a right to go out of that union any more than a citizen of New York has a right to petition that the State of New York should secede from the union of States.

Mr. RAGSDALE. Have Australians been disloyal?

Mr. Fox. Yes, sir. Archbishop Mannix is a most disloyal man.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order. This gentleman has not very much time, and I suggest that we let him proceed with his statement.

Mr. Fox. Sinn Feinism in Ireland is simply the doctrine that we knocked out at Appomattox Courthouse, and which Ireland accepted. The strongest Roman Catholic portions of Ireland in 1800, through their representatives, voted for the union. It is entirely false to say that it was bought. Anybody who would consult the histories will find to their satisfaction to the contrary. The great historian, J. K. Ingram, will tell you that. Robert Dunlap will tell you that. In the March, 1917, *Christian Science Monitor* you will find a very remarkable interview with O'Grady, who always lived in Ireland, where he makes fun of Irish independence. Ireland has received half a million dollars out of the British treasury with which to purchase lands to be placed in the hands of peasants. This Irish independence proposes to steal \$500,000,000 from the taxpayers of England. Would you stand for that in Porto Rico? We are the last of persons who should adopt such a resolution as this. England, if impolite, might well say to us: Physician turn and heal thyself. We have imposed conscription upon Porto Rico and Hawaii, and yet they have not a single vote in the Congress of the United States. At the same time Ireland has had two and one-half times her rightful vote in the British Parliament. Repeatedly she has received gifts from the British Parliament on the understanding that she was an integral part of the nation. The most intelligent part, the most enterprising part of Ireland—namely, Ulster—longs passionately to remain in the union, just as did that portion of old Virginia which is now West Virginia.

Now, then, the British Government promises in due time a settlement of this question, and I am glad of it. Not because I shall never revise my views again in favor of nationalism after the Irish Rebellion, but because I want England, as I want all other nations, to settle their internal questions to the satisfaction of their people as far as they can be settled with justice to all. I was a great admirer of John Redmond and of the great Charles Stewart Parnell. I knew T. P. O'Connor; met him in this country and promised him that I

would help him, but I can not do that now. I am fighting against the principles for which my brother fought in the Civil War, and here you gentlemen of the committee are asked to advocate those principles.

Why, the situation presented here is just like the English might say, physician heal thyself. When we have given the right of self-determination to Porto Rico, and when we have given the right of self-determination to the Philippines, and when we have given the right of self-determination to Hawaii, we might hold ourselves up and say, Now, England! But we have never given them the chance that Ireland has had, not in the slightest; we have never given them the chance to vote.

Mr. PORTER. I would like to ask——

Mr. FOX (interposing). I can not be interrupted because I only have a few minutes more, as the Chairman has suggested.

Mr. PORTER. I insist on an answer, because I do not think you have been fair to this country in the references just made to the Philippines, Hawaii, and Porto Rico.

Mr. FOX. All right; go ahead.

Mr. KENNEDY. We have only had the Philippines and Porto Rico for about 20 years, and have been in a way gradually developing them along the road toward independence.

Mr. FOX. I do not believe it.

Mr. KENNEDY. You do not?

Mr. FOX. No, sir.

Mr. KENNEDY. You think that we will hold them for 700 or 800 years, do you?

Mr. FOX. You will hold them for 800 years, unquestionably, in my opinion, especially Porto Rico. What about our Monroe Doctrine? And it is all a falsehood to say that Ireland has been held by force. You will see by these documents I can give to you that the occupation of Ireland by England was favored by the Popes.

Mr. RAGSDALE. If Ireland is not being held by force why not let the people there determine the question?

Mr. FOX. You did not do that in the case of some of the States of the Union. What did you say to them: You once came into this Union, and now you must stay. It must be enough to make Abraham Lincoln and Daniel Webster turn in their graves could they know of this request here to-day.

Mr. KENNEDY. Those States voluntarily came into the Union.

Mr. FOX. So did Ireland in 1800. [Laughter.] It is perfectly true. These men back behind me here do not know anything about it. That is a perfectly true statement, and is borne out by history. They are simply laughing because they do not know. Proof of it may be found in J. K. Ingram's history of the Union.

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. Gladstone knew, and this is what he said: "I know of no blacker or fouler transaction in the history of man than the making of the union between England and Ireland."

Mr. FOX. Mr. Gladstone is clearly mistaken. I can quote you just as bad things against Ireland as that. I know the whole history of Ireland, and if I only had the time I could quote it and talk to you about it for hours. It was never a nation. Before the English occupation it was made up of tribes, who cut each others throats, includ-



ing their chiefs. There has never been a nation of the Irish in Ireland any more than there has been a nation of the Irish in this country. There were large number of them, and there were tribes, but they were never a nation. I never saw a case so full of misleading logic as the Irish cause. They talk about a nation, and talk about democracy, but they do not know what these words really mean. It is very hard to get the people over in this country to know the truth about Ireland. It certainly is. You take such newspapers as the Gaelic American and the Irish World and they are full of falsehoods all the time. That speech of Cardinal O'Connell's was a speech that I would like nothing better than a chance to analyze here before this committee. I would like an opportunity to stop and show you where he varies from the true situation all the way through. [Laughter.]

The CHAIRMAN. I must ask that the gentleman be given a chance to finish his statement without interruption. He has but a few minutes left.

Mr. Fox. I want to take up one point more: There has been some claim made on the ground of gratitude for the part taken by the Irish in our wars made by those who are advocating this resolution. There comes in for consideration what is the meaning of the term. They use Irish in three or four different senses. Every time you use the word "Irish" you must analyze it. It may mean Roman Catholic Irish, or just Irish like Roger Casement, or the Protestant members of the Protestant churches of Ireland. The Irish who fought for us were a very small portion of the whole country. In the statistics published by the Census Bureau in 1907 it is shown that the first time a census was taken there were only 0.105 of the population of the United States that were Irish, and the most of those were Presbyterian Irish. And that is borne out by Victor Dowling, one of the justices of the Supreme Court of New York, in one of the last numbers of the Irish World. He said that the Roman Catholic Irish did not begin to come here until 1832. It is the Roman Catholic Irish portion only who desire independence. And there was hardly one-half of 1 per cent of Roman Catholic Irish in the Revolutionary Army. There were no Roman Catholic Irish in the Constitutional Convention and very few here at the time of the Declaration of Independence. If it had not been for the German King we would have continued as a colony, like Canada, for we had not many friends, but the stubborn German King would not give in. We tried for one whole year to escape independence, as all historians will tell you, when the olive branch was extended by George III.

When the first bishop was applied for in 1775 there were only 256 Roman Catholics in the United States of all the largest nations, including Dutch, French, and so forth. The first church built in New York was St. Peters, I think, built in 1785. There was none in Boston until shortly after that. The Irish who fought in the Revolution constituted not more than 5 per cent, many of whom were Protestants from Ulster, of the class from which the late President McKinley and President Wilson descended. There is not the slightest basis of gratitude for what they did. And if there had been, the England of to-day is very different from the England of George

III. It is more republican than we are in many respects, and Ireland entered the union willingly in 1800.

Now, gentlemen of the committee, while you will find the statement made all the time—yet there is no possible basis for it, it being a pure assumption—that the Roman Catholic Irish won the Revolution. All of the glory that belongs to the Statue of Liberty belongs to the English race, for they formed 87 per cent of the population, according to the census statistics at the time of the First Census. And it was made clear by Senator Lodge 15 years ago when speaking on the English Colonies in America. But the statement has constantly been made until Mr. Victor Dowling was fair enough to correct it. You will find his statement in a number of the Irish World of about three weeks ago on the early Irish-Americans. There is no basis for that claim, and almost all of the books published on this point are exceedingly misleading—one by MacManus and one by Leslie. Leslie makes this absurd statement, that Robert Treat Paine was a descendant of O'Neil, who fought Queen Elizabeth. All he would have to do would be to turn to the books. I asked a descendant of Robert Treat Paine about it, and he said there was nothing in it; that their ancestors came from Kent, in England. The same is true of the value of the Irish in the Civil War. He says the Sixty-ninth threw back Pickett's brigade at Gettysburg. I do not think anybody can say who threw back Pickett's brigade at Gettysburg, though the Fourteenth Connecticut and Cushing's battery had as much to do with it as anybody. It is said the First Minnesota stopped them in the woods after the first day's fighting.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Fox, your time has expired.

Mr. GALLAGHER. The next speaker—

A VOICE (interposing). May I ask the speaker if he is an American citizen? [Laughter.]

Mr. Fox. My ancestors came from London in 1639 and settled in New England, and they have been there ever since. I was born in New Haven 65 years ago. I could qualify for admission to the Sons of the American Revolution if I wanted to, which very few Irish-Americans can do.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Fox, your time has expired.

Mr. Fox. I want to say to you—

The CHAIRMAN (rapping for order). Mr. Fox, your time has expired, and you will have to take your seat.

Mr. GALLAGHER. The next speaker will be Miss Katherine Hughes, representing the Irish Women's Council of America, and who has been allotted 15 minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Hughes will have 15 minutes.

#### STATEMENT OF MISS KATHERINE HUGHES, REPRESENTATIVE OF IRISH WOMEN'S COUNCIL OF AMERICA.

Miss HUGHES. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I represent the Irish Women's Council of America, which is organized from New York to San Francisco. Like the parent body in Ireland, its membership consists of Catholic and Protestant women of Irish blood, illustrating the salient point of all the Irish movements of this century—unity of Catholics and Protestants. The founders of our

council were Mrs. John R. Green, the noted historian and Irish Protestant patriot; Mary Spring-Rice, niece of the late Sir Cecil Spring-Rice; the granddaughters of Archbishop Trench, the great Anglican primate of Ireland; and the daughters of Charles Gavan Duffy and Barry O'Brien, the colleague and biographer of Charles Stewart Parnell.

Mr. COOPER. Did you say Mrs. Green was the widow of the great historian?

Miss HUGHES. Yes; Mrs. Green is the widow of John R. Green, the historian, and herself one of the greatest living historians.

#### IRISH IN REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

I have spoken of the unity of creeds in all the new movements in Ireland. There seems to be less harmony on this side of the Atlantic when a statement can be deliberately made, as in your presence this morning, that the Irish Catholics—which always means Irish of the original Gaelic stock—played no part of any worth in the Revolutionary War of 1776.

The speaker omits the fact that the first four regiments from France were made up of Irish Catholic soldiers; that 19 of their officers were of the old Irish nobility; that, at that period in America, under England's rule, there was no religious toleration except in Catholic Maryland and Quaker Pennsylvania, and consequently Irish Catholics outside these districts had little formal organization; that even the sentence in the Declaration of Independence which provided religious freedom throughout this Republic was framed by a Maryland Catholic—Archbishop Carroll.

Why has he also omitted the fact that in the Revolutionary War there were 50,000 "Loyalists" in the English Army, fighting against America ("Loyalists in the American Revolution," p. 183), and these were mainly from New England; that, as Dr. William J. A. Maloney points out in his "Ulster Aspect of the Irish Issue," Washington termed these American-born antagonists of American freedom "as 'abominable pests of society,' and treated them as traitors"?

I wonder if the last speaker [Mr. Fox] hoped to win belief for his statement that, "In 1800, Ireland, by the will of a strong Catholic population, joined the union" of British parliaments? Does he not know that the Irish Catholics, still living in 1800 under the shadow of the penal laws, were practically without representation in the Irish Parliament of that period; that no Irish Catholic or Irish Presbyterian could be a member of that parliament; that, of its 300 members, only 28 members were elected; that, of the 162 members who voted for the union, "116 were placemen (appointees of the English Government and its henchmen); some of whom were English generals on the staff without one foot of ground in Ireland and completely dependent upon the Government \* \* \*," as Lord Grey stated in his reply to Pitt protesting against the corruption and dishonorable means by which this Union was obtained.

Does not this New Haven protagonist of England and English policy throughout the centuries [Mr. Fox] realize that the much-quoted Catholic archbishop in Ireland who endeavored to argue in

favor of this union was persuaded to do so by a definite pledge from Pitt that, if the union of parliaments were effected, the English Government would abolish the remaining penal laws and grant to the Irish Catholics a complete emancipation? Needless to say, that pledge to the credulous Irish cleric was promptly repudiated after 1800, and Archbishop Troy, in his chagrin and disillusionment, found no sympathy among his own people, for few of them had approved of his unpatriotic and ill-judged course.

But these old fables of anti-Irish propaganda have been answered a score of times before. Matters of to-day clamor for our understanding.

#### AMERICAN INTERVENTION.

MISS HUGHES. I ask consideration from the committee upon three points with regard to the arguments that are being advanced in America as to why America should not intervene at the Peace Conference in support of Irish self-determination. The doubt of America's right to do this is, happily, shared by only a few and is not in accord with American traditions of human liberty. It is the result of the most intensive and extensive propaganda against any nation that this clean New World has ever known. But it has not affected the views of the most thoughtful Americans. Last February your esteemed colleague, the late Senator Stone of Missouri, said to me, in his office and speaking in his official capacity:

I believe, of course, that Ireland has a right to her independence as a distinct nation. At present, and while the war continues, of course nothing can be done by us to assist her cause. But when the war is over our Government should take action, and I am sure it will.

At the same time he spoke of Dr. MacCartan, the envoy of the Irish Provisional Government, with as much seriousness and respect as the members of the welcoming Irish Parliament in 1771 spoke of Benjamin Franklin when he went among them as a similar envoy of the American rebels.

#### RELIGIOUS QUESTION AND ULSTER.

The first argument advanced against American intervention is that religious differences in Ireland are so great that the country could not possibly govern itself. I will say that one of the first rebuttals of this is the flag of Ireland to-day—the Tricolor—the orange and green with the white of peace between. [Miss Hughes here produced the flag of the Irish Republic.] The only flag recognized by our Irish Women's Council and by the people of Ireland as the Irish flag to-day is this flag which I would now present for the record. It is a more eloquent testimony of Irish unity than any words can be.

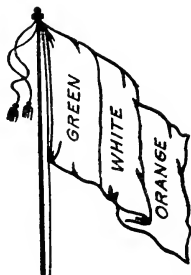
THE CHAIRMAN. I do not know whether the Public Printer can reproduce it in the printed hearing, but it will be furnished him, so that he may do so, if he can.

MISS HUGHES. I thank you.

It is not a new flag; it is over 125 years old; Irishmen, Catholic and Protestant, have died for this flag in five armed rebellions in the last 125 years. In its beautiful symbolism it was designed by Wolfe Tone,

the great Protestant leader of Ireland in 1798, who paid with his life for his patriotism.

It was for this orange and green with the white of peace between that the men of Easter week died. It is this flag alone that over 80



per cent of the Irish population to-day, Catholic and Protestant, recognizes, and I am glad of the permission so kindly granted by the chairman to place this flag in the record.

The superhuman struggle made by Irishmen of all creeds in those five armed rebellions was not alone for the three inalienable rights of man—the right to live, the right to hold property, the right to govern themselves—but for the further right to dwell amicably among themselves, countrymen of all creeds, without interference or political intrigue from outside.

There is no record in history of religious persecution by any Irish government; religious intolerance is foreign to the Gaelic nature. In the seventeenth century, when all Europe was torn with religious wars, Irish Catholics, in framing their Rebel government at Kilkenny, specifically stated in their constitution (statutes of Kilkenny, 1643) that all creeds were to have perfect religious freedom in Ireland.

#### FACTS ABOUT ULSTER.

The plain facts of the Ulster question are these: The people of northeast Ulster were first settled there in the seventeenth century upon lands forcibly taken from the Irish. In time the dispossessed learned not only to forgive but to love the newcomers, and toward the close of the eighteenth century Irish Protestant volunteers, standing like brothers beside their unarmed Catholic brethren, demanded the religious emancipation of the Catholics at their historic Dungannon meeting. These volunteers, under the statesmanlike direction of Henry Grattan and Henry Flood, who was not merely the namesake but the historic ancestor of your chairman here to-day, wrested from England not alone a sovereign parliament but the act of renunciation of 1783, providing—

\* \* \* that the rights claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom is hereby declared to be established and ascertained forever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable.

Then the ruling powers at London decided that the house of Ireland must be divided against itself, otherwise it would become free and independent of the usurping English rule.

There was then hatched in London a scheme of religious antagonism for Ireland, planned in the same way as the "Ulster rebellion," which I personally saw being formulated in London in 1913-14, and which was afterwards set down in Ulster and proclaimed to the world as an Irish problem. The same mediums were used then as now—the powerful landlord and employer with his London affiliations. In this way a religious scarecrow was erected in the fair fields of Eire.

Unhappily, this foreign importation, sedulously cultivated, became an accepted reality among the Irish people. But the Gaelic nature soon asserted itself. Men like Robert Emmett, John Mitchell, Thomas Davis, and Charles Stewart Parnell on the one side, and Daniel O'Connell, Charles Gavan Duffy, John Redmond, and Arthur Griffith on the other side, threw bridges across the gulf.

#### IRELAND AGAIN UNITED.

And now again, when the people of Ireland have come together with little of that alien prejudice lingering, the new Ireland is too well educated and too sophisticated ever to be put apart again to its national disadvantage.

To-day the population of Ireland is, approximately, three-fourths Catholic and one-fourth Protestant. The actual figures are: Catholic, 3,242,670; Protestant, 1,147,549; total, 4,390,219. In the Province of Ulster there are: Protestants, 890,880; Catholics, 690,816; the Protestant majority being 200,064 for all Ulster.

In the six counties which were seized from the O'Neills and the O'Donnells and the O'Connors in 1621 the population now is: Protestants, 820,367; Catholics, 430,164; Protestant majority, 390,203.

#### PROPOSED PARTITION OF IRELAND.

It is for this majority of 390,203 of all Protestants in these six counties—many of whom are not only nationalists but Sinn Féin—that Premier Lloyd-George has implied the 3,242,670 Irish Catholics must still be coerced by an alien government. The only alternative offered by the English Government to this alien rule is the partition of Ireland by cutting out the six counties and their Protestant majority from the rest of Ireland. These counties contain one of the seats of the ancient high kings of Ireland, who held parliament and courts there in the days before and after Christ. They also contain the burying place of St. Patrick. Yet English statesmen propose to divide this ancient State as casually as though it were a new and empty township in Wyoming.

No one can seriously make this proposition but one whose national vision is distorted by the use of an imperial monocle. Both Sir Horace Plunkett and the present Anglican primate of the Church of England in Ireland have stated that such a partition would be displeasing to all Ireland. The people of Ireland as a whole are as little likely to accept this proposition as the English people would the idea of carving out Lancashire from England, because the population of

that county is largely permeated with Scotch, Welsh, and Irish blood, and because traditionally the attitude of the Lancashire people is critical and rather unfriendly to the people of the south of England.

#### IRELAND'S ATTITUDE IN THE GREAT WAR.

The second argument advanced against America's interference is that Ireland did not take her full share in this recent war for human liberty. As has already been stated here, at the beginning of the war the volunteering in Ireland was as prompt and as generous as in any other part of the world, because Belgium and France are traditionally friends of Ireland.

When Asquith went to Dublin on a recruiting tour in 1914 the stage on which he spoke had for decorations the ancient royal flag of Ireland, the blue and gold; the appeals to the people were printed in Gaelic, and Asquith told the young men of Ireland that England's sword would never be sheathed until she had secured the rights of the small nations of Europe. But that very same autumn his party withheld giving the long-promised home rule to Ireland and buried it on the statute books. This was done, notwithstanding a personal pledge that had been given to John Redmond, and on the faith of which Redmond's Irish party had for years loyally supported Asquith's party, aiding them to pass through the English Parliament legislation which could not have been passed without their aid—much-needed measures of reform for the poor and working classes of England.

#### IRELAND GAVE $6\frac{1}{2}$ PER CENT OF POPULATION.

Notwithstanding this treatment  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of Ireland's total population enlisted under the British flag to fight for the rights of small nations. The actual figures, verified in most part by me at the Congressional Library on yesterday, are these:

According to Lord Wimborne's report to Lord Kitchener of January 14, 1916, there were 51,046 Irishmen serving as regulars and reservists in the British Army in August, 1914. According to Sir Eric Geddes, in the House of Commons, there were up to 1918, 170,000 enlistments in Ireland. According to the statement of Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M. P., after a statistical survey of conditions, there were over 35,000 Irish boys temporarily employed away from home who enlisted in English and Scotch regiments in 1914-15. According to Lord Wimborne's report there were 8,546 Irishmen in the English Navy. In 1918 there were over 7,000 enlistments in Ireland, and according to a most conservative estimate of the naval reservists and naval enlistments later the number is put at 4,000, making a total of 275,592 Irishmen fighting in the English Army and Navy during this war.

But the propaganda against Ireland in this country ignores the fact that Ireland was fighting for liberty on two fronts—at home and abroad. Whilst the young men were so generously volunteering in 1914 the Sinn Féin party, which up to that time had been regarded as a group of political theorizers, became profoundly constructive and active in their propaganda.

Like a skilled surgeon's probe, the forces of this party were now directed to a menace that threatened the body of the nation with death. Irishmen, whose natural valor and high spirits made them invaluable as soldiers, were being urged by England to march under her banner and fight for the liberty of Belgium, for the rights of Serbia and other small nations. And Redmond and a great majority of his party went recruiting in Ireland for this purpose.

After the first generous period of volunteering was over Sinn Fein determinedly blocked recruiting by declaring that the first duty of Irishmen was to devote their lives to secure the liberty and rights of a small nation known as Ireland, whose freedom had been taken from her by her strong neighbor England long before Serbia fell under Turkey, or Belgium was invaded by Germany. Moreover, Sinn Fein argued that Ireland alone of the ancient nations of Europe was a country drained of its young manhood, and that it would not be long before it would be made up of the very old and the very young. Cleared lands with tenants evicted to turn estates into grazing lands, artificially created famines, throttled industries, and enforced emigration in hundreds of thousands to America had long bled Ireland white of her most virile manhood.

#### DEPOPULATION OF IRELAND.

In 1844 Ireland had about 5,000,000 cattle and 9,000,000 people.

In 1914 Ireland had over 10,000,000 cattle and little over 4,000,000 people.

England's assumed sway over Ireland, as Arthur Griffiths points out, had obviously favored raising cattle and as patently checked the raising of Irishmen.

If Ireland, traditionally friendly with Belgium and France (the Ireland of whose sons 450,000 had died in France's service alone 100 years after Sarsfield led his exiled forces to France), had in 1914 recruited men for the English Army at the rate she was urged to do by Englishmen, the Irish Nation would now be nearer extinction than the Serbian or Belgian.

The Sinn Fein party was determined that Ireland should not in a generous moment commit national suicide, nor be driven to an act that would threaten the Gaelic nation with extinction as complete as the ancient Egyptians.

Sinn Fein went into the highways and byways of Ireland preaching to the meager remnant of Ireland's young manhood. Theirs was heroic work, making vocal the spirit of the nation at a time when it meant one continuous succession of persecutions, imprisonments, and hardships. They said:

Bitter as the need of our neighbor Belgium is your first duty is to conserve the Irish race and win its freedom. If any other Irishmen go into this war they will go as freemen. Men—as Irishmen make your stand at home! Win your freedom here first. For by the sacred memories of Brian, Hugh, Tone, Parnell and the rest, the Irish race is going to live. It is going to own its own country. It is going to rule its own country. Before God Erin will again be free!

#### IRISH WOMEN AND CONSCRIPTION.

And not alone the men of Ireland but its women folk answered the cry that ran like the old Fiery Cross of the Gael from hill to hill of Ireland.



To avert the immediate threat of conscription as well as to maintain Ireland's ancient demand for sovereign independence the men of Ireland rose in revolt in 1916. They succeeded in averting conscription. A year later the threat of conscription was renewed by England. Three hundred thousand Irishmen, said to be the best missile troops in Europe, were hoped for by the English military authorities. The Irish people promptly demurred.

The attitude of Tory England was voiced in the *London Spectator*, which headed an editorial on Irish conscription: "Don't argue; shoot!"—the Irish if they do not comply. The Sinn Fein campaign now swept the country, and it made the headway it did simply because it was voicing the spirit of the people. It drew into closest union with it Labor's political party and the dignitaries of the church; in fact, the whole nation of Ireland, including a large number of Protestants, was firmly opposed to conscription.

The Independent Orangemen marched with the Sinn Fein followers in protest against it. The Protestant Women's Organization was one of the most active against conscription. At this time there were in English factories alone 3,000,000 men employed in addition to all her other millions of men, and the Irish people well asked themselves, "Hasn't the Irish race the same right to continue its existence that the English race has? Why should we be decimated?"

At this time also there were hundreds of thousands of men in one miners' union alone in the south of Wales. No other civilized country in Europe was so disproportionately lacking in men of military age as Ireland was.

#### STATISTICS OF IRISH MAN POWER.

By the 1911 statistics there were in Ireland of military age only 776,000 men, married and unmarried, fit and unfit. Great numbers of the younger and stronger Irishmen had for decades been compelled to go overseas to America, because of the system to which Arthur Chamberlain (brother of Joseph Chamberlain and managing director of Kynoch's) referred in his interview in July, 1907, with Arthur Griffiths in Dublin, when he said:

That it was a definite part of English policy to prevent any serious industrial or commercial development in Ireland. That he himself was convinced that that policy was wrong, but that it was equally held and practiced by Tories and Liberals, and it would be practiced until Ireland had a form of government under which she controlled her own finances and had the power to impose protective tariffs.

In January, 1916, Lord Wimborne, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, reported to Lord Kitchener that there were then only about 400,000 single men of military age in Ireland; that of these at least 252,000 were essential to agriculture, and other industries would absorb about 48,000, which left a balance of possibly 100,000 men available for the army.

#### FEAR OF A NEW PLANTATION.

The women of Ireland now played a most active part in opposing the application of conscription to Ireland. The men abhorred it because it meant the usurpation of the nation's rights over her own man power.

The women rebelled against it for another cause; they knew if the men of Ireland were decimated any further that it would mean a new "plantation" of alien men, of English returned soldiers, in Ireland upon the 11,000,000 acres which still remain untilled in the great estates and available for division.

This would mean eventually the extinction of the race and the passing of the nation. The women of Ireland knew that already close to 1,000 acres had been planted by returned English veterans; so had the men of Ireland faltered in their opposition to conscription the women of Ireland would have urged them forward.

They knew that the loss of their own manhood would have meant that eventually they would have had to mate with the men of the new plantation and bring up their children, not as Irishmen, but as "loyal citizens" of the British Empire, and subjects of the country which had accomplished the ruin of their own race. They would prefer death to such a prospect.

So the women of Ireland, in their hundreds of thousands, went out and pledged resistance by every means in their power to conscription. They vowed they would not take any posts made vacant by the discharge of men from employment, and if in 1918 the leaders of the older political party and the dignitaries of the Catholic Church had not come in with the people of Ireland and compelled action as a whole nation and averted conscription, the men and the women of Ireland had planned to die at their own thresholds or on their own hillsides in little groups to avert national disaster.

I have been told even in Washington that the anticonscription agitation was ordered from Rome. I would say in rebuttal of this false bit of propaganda that the leaders of the National Party in Ireland to-day, Catholic and Protestant, will upon national questions take no dictation from any power outside their own country. They are entirely competent to decide every Irish question themselves.

#### WHY AMERICA SHOULD INTERVENE.

The third argument that has been advanced against America's intervention in Irish affairs is simply, Why should America interfere? I have been told that this is a very difficult question to answer. In my belief, to every genuine American a much more difficult question to answer is, Why shouldn't America intervene and aid the Irish people in securing the right to govern themselves in whatever form they may decide?

America should intervene—

Because of all that is best in American traditions and ideals for human liberty.

Because of the statements made by President Wilson in the Congress before he asked the Congress to vote for America's entry into the war.

Because of the repeated statements on the part of the President since that time that America was fighting for democracy and to end oppression.

Because the Nation in going to war sincerely believed in these statements and felt that they were sending out their sons to fight for oppressed nations.

Because there is no nation in the world more terribly oppressed nor for a greater period of time than the Irish, except the Jews, whose wrongs are now being righted.

Because the American Army was made up of 30 per cent of men of Irish blood and the American Navy 40 per cent of men of Irish blood, and in the hearts of every one of these men there was the hope that their sacrifice would not alone strengthen their beloved country, America, but would insure freedom for the old land of their forefathers.

Because when America offered her sons by the millions for the cause of liberty and her gold flowed in unending streams in the cause of freedom, not only one but many States appealed to their people in the words of this Minneapolis circular:

We have entered this war for an ideal—the right to liberty, happiness, opportunity—not for ourselves alone, but for all the peoples of all the world.

Because America can not afford to go down in history as having been false to her first ally and constant friend—Ireland.

#### BRITISH LABOR FOR SELF-DETERMINATION.

Because the British Labor Party has definitely placed as a plank in its platform this clause, "Self-determination for all peoples, including Ireland"—as stated by Arthur Henderson, leader of that party, in reply to Samuel Gompers last summer.

Because Lloyd-George, in outlining his war aims last January, said concerning colonies of negroes in South Africa:

\* \* \* The inhabitants should be placed under the control of an administration acceptable to themselves. \* \* \* The general principle of national self-determination is as applicable in their case as in those of occupied European territory.

Because, as the Freeman's Journal, organ of the Dillon political party in Ireland, said editorially:

Were the United States to accept the English contention that she has no right to decide on the merits of the case as between Great Britain and Ireland, she might please the British Government, but she would delight even more the rulers of the central powers, whom she would present with a precedent which will be invaluable at the Peace Conference when the cases of Poland, Bohemia, and Transylvania come up for final settlement. If Ireland's is a domestic question, all those are also domestic questions, and if the rule is to be that a State may dictate to an enemy at the point of the sword, but must not remonstrate over wrongs with a cobelligerent, the new league of nations is not likely to prove of more benefit to oppressed races than Metternich's Holy Alliance after the Napoleonic wars.

#### AMERICA THE WORLD'S ARBITER.

America must intervene to aid Ireland in her struggle for self-determination, because America is now the world's arbiter. It is an incontrovertible fact that by this country's marvelous outpouring of men, money, and munitions she became the decisive factor in the winning of the world war.

To-day, as at every peace conference of the past, there will be one dominant voice present, and to-day, for the first time in the world's history, it is that of a genuine democracy, of a country governed by the people and for the people, one so strong that no one can afford to

lose her good will, not even England if asked to release Ireland; one so strong that she can set the torch of liberty ablaze at the gateways of every country in the world as well as her own.

But this great moment was foreseen and arranged to be met by a school of diplomacy and politics which is the oldest and most finished in the world. Consequently with regard to Ireland this country has been filled with British propaganda. It has sat in the editorial chairs of America. It has stalked like a giant through the money markets. It has slipped in gentler guise into the Federal Capital.

It will confront America's envoys at the peace table. And there will be played the finest game of diplomatic bluff that the world has ever seen. America's late cobelligerent holds strong cards. She will hold in her hand as regards Ireland two very strong pairs—the one, of present possession, although by force; the other, the most effective imperial diplomacy.

But America holds all the aces—financial and commercial superiority; unlimited wealth in the future within herself and not dependent upon any outside factor; and, last and greatest of all, moral right.

#### IRELAND AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE.

When there comes to the peace conference the harried leaders of gallant Ireland, which has fought so valiantly and long for freedom—when they come to the gates of the conference and ask that the people of Ireland shall have the right to select for themselves the form of government under which they desire to live, I know what Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Lincoln would do if they were there. They would be true to the Declaration of Independence, the greatest charter of human liberty the world has ever seen.

I know what Lincoln would do if he were there. I know what Lincoln said on just such a cause. I copied the words here in Washington in the room in which he died:

I have never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence. \* \* \* the great principle that kept this confederacy together was \* \* \* that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not alone to the people of this country but, I hope, to the world for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men.

America alone can, without bloodshed, lift from the shoulders of Ireland—our Dark Rosaleen—the unlovely and unwieldy bulk of England's weight, which she has resisted with such fierce and proud endurance for 700 years.

If Washington and Lincoln were alive to-day, I know what they would do; and, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I believe I know what you are going to do. [Great applause.]

(Miss Hughes then expressed a desire to add to the record, without reading it, an editorial from *Nationality* of February 23, 1918, concerning Ireland's trade conditions.)

#### STRANGLING IRISH INDUSTRIES.

[*Nationality*, Saturday, Feb. 23, 1918.]

In the days of Elizabeth England made it treason for an Irishman to own a ship; in the days of Charles II England made it felony for the Irish to export produce in Irish ships—or in English ships without England's leave—in the days

of William III England made it criminal for Ireland to carry on its staple manufacture; in the days of the Georges England interdicted all trade between Ireland and the outside world and loaded our linens, cottons, glass, brassware, and 50 other industries with prohibitive duties; in the days of William IV England prohibited our tobacco industry; in the days of Victoria England annihilated our fisheries; and having succeeded after 300 years of repression in driving the Irish from tillage and manufacturing industry back into the shepherd state, England lamented to Europe our poverty and our backwardness.

Three hundred years have brought changes in England's circumstances—none to England's heart or England's policy toward this country. So long as England controls the customs of Ireland she controls the trade and commerce of Ireland, and is armed to destroy that trade and commerce when she will. In the last few days England has shown her hand in Arklow. In that town there is a factory of Kynoch's, which the English Government sought to close down in 1907, and now seeks to close down again in 1918. \* \* \*

The destruction of the Arklow industry has been an object of the British Government for the past 10 years. In 1915 we published in *Nationality* a signed article on the subject, which we to-day reproduce, since thousands who did not read it then will read it now. Let them ponder the facts and they will realize that while England holds her grip on this country—holds our customs in her hands—Irish industry will never be allowed to develop.

FROM NATIONALITY, JULY 31, 1915.

Some of the orators and journalists who support the English Government in Ireland have discovered a grievance against that institution and, greatly daring, grumbled. The grievance is that firms in Ireland are not getting orders for munitions. The English Government, however, is going to look into the matter, and so all is well, and those who believe that that Government has ceased to swindle Ireland can again occupy their minds with remembering Belgium, if they do not read further.

In July, 1907, the managing director of Kynoch's wrote to me stating that the chairman of that company had read something of what I had written on Irish affairs, particularly on industrial conditions in Ireland, and that he was anxious to discuss the matter of industrial development in Ireland. I met Mr. Arthur Chamberlain, chairman of Kynoch's, and Mr. Cocking, the manager, by arrangement at the Shelbourne Hotel in Dublin. We had three interviews—at each of which I was accompanied by a friend of mine, a Dublin man of business. It was obvious on the second interview that Mr. Chamberlain's real object was to protect Kynoch's from loss over its Arklow factory. Eventually this was effected. The substance of Mr. Chamberlain's statements in the matter will be of interest just now to those who believe in leopards changing their spots, and other phenomena.

#### ARTHUR CHAMBERLAIN'S VIEWS.

Mr. Chamberlain opened by saying that he had read a speech of mine, issued as a pamphlet, on the Sinn Féin policy, with the industrial portion of which he was in complete accord. As chairman of Kynoch's, he had caused that firm to have something that might be called a private industrial survey of Ireland made. The result was to satisfy him as a business man that Ireland was one of the richest countries in the material of great industries; that her people had a great natural aptitude for commerce and manufacture; and that nothing but ignorance, lack of capital, or repressive government stood in the way of making her a great industrial and commercial State. All this was trite, but it was interesting to listen to it recited from the lips of the head of England's greatest industrial concern.

Mr. Chamberlain went on to describe the coming of Kynoch's to Ireland and the birth of which it was to be the germ. Kynoch's, satisfied by their investigators and chemists of the teeming natural wealth of Ireland, had planned a scheme of industrial development through subsidiary Irish companies. The Southeast of Ireland, which Kynoch's had discovered to be a richer pottery district than the famous pottery country of England, was to be worked by an Irish company financed in the beginning by Kynoch, the matchless iron of Leitrim was again to be wrought by Irish hands, and so forth. A pleasant scheme, after describing which Mr. Chamberlain requested my opinion. My opinion was that, to be wholly beneficial to Ireland, the scheme should be

worked altogether on Irish capital; that I realized it was impossible in the present circumstances of Ireland to induce Irish capitalists to venture on any large scheme of national industrial development; that therefore a scheme by which Kynoch's would initially supply the capital and organize the development through Irish companies would be acceptable under some restrictions. But I asked Mr. Chamberlain whether he, as a great English industrialist, really believed that the English Government would encourage Kynoch's or any other firm or syndicate which it could bring pressure upon to develop Ireland's industrial arm.

#### ENGLISH POLICY OF REPRESSION.

Mr. Chamberlain replied that he did not; that it was a definite part of English policy to prevent any serious industrial or commercial development in Ireland; that he himself was convinced that policy was wrong, but that it was equally held and practiced by Tories and Liberals, and it would be practiced until Ireland had a form of home rule under which she controlled her own finances and had power to impose protective tariffs. No other form of home rule could be commercially useful to Ireland. Mr. Chamberlain was very anxious that I should not believe he held the same views as his brother Joseph. He was and had always been a Liberal and a home ruler, and he contributed a large sum annually to the Liberal Party funds.

These facts, as I told him, I already knew. I then inquired, that understanding as he did the secret attitude of English Government toward any scheme to seriously develop Ireland industrially, whether Kynoch's would face the Government opposition and carry out its scheme, or attempt to do so.

#### GOVERNMENT THREATS TO KYNOCH'S.

To this Mr. Chamberlain indirectly replied by detailing the history of the Kynoch branch in Arklow and the efforts made by the government of Mr. Balfour and the government of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to force the firm to shut down the branch. Finally, to compel Kynoch's to leave Ireland, Government contracts were removed. Mr. Chamberlain described a somewhat lively interview he had recently had with Mr. Herbert Gladstone, now Lord Gladstone, in which that minister told him definitely that if the Arklow factory continued the Government would see that as little Government work as possible would be given to Kynoch's. On the other hand, the Government offered no objection to Kynoch's establishing themselves in "any part of the empire except Ireland," and the fullest support was offered to the Kynoch branch in South Africa.

I inquired why Mr. Chamberlain came to the Sinn Feiners instead of to the parliamentary party, who were allies and were supposed to be the masters of the English Liberal Government.

Mr. Chamberlain replied that he had gone to the parliamentary party; that the leaders know all that was taking place, but that they would do nothing except privately appeal to the Government. Mr. Redmond, Mr. Chamberlain said, was an amiable man, but he was putty in the hands of English ministers.

#### PLANS FOR POTTERY ABANDONED.

A further interview developed Mr. Chamberlain's plan for the cooperation of Sinn Fein. I inquired from him whether in return he would guarantee Kynoch's would proceed with their original plan for industrial development in Ireland. Whether, for instance, they would supply the means for initiating the great pottery industry of the southeast.

Mr. Chamberlain hesitated, but finally replied he could not give a guaranty. The Government could hit Kynoch's in so many ways elsewhere that they could not as business men risk going on with the scheme. If there were home rule in the country, Kynoch's might risk it. I remarked that no measure of home rule which permitted Ireland to protect its industries would be passed by either Liberals or Tories. Mr. Chamberlain assented, but added that the Irish had political strength although they did not know how to use it to coerce ministers. However, the cooperation of Sinn Fein was not to be considered unless Kynoch's were prepared to go on with the original scheme, and thus this aspect of the matter ended. To save the factory at Arklow, however—the closing of which would mean the ruin of the town—we put Mr. Chamber-

lain in communication with certain Irish business men, who afterwards attended a small meeting in the Shelbourne Hotel, as a result of which an arrangement was made which enabled the factory to be carried on without exposing Kynoch's to further boycotting by the English Government.

I trust the gentlemen who know that "this is Ireland's war," and who demand a share in the making of munitions, will be comforted.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH.

The British Government, foiled in 1907, has struck home at Arklow in 1918. The people of that town may take it that the man whom the chairman of Kynoch's described to us in 1907 as "putty in the hands of English ministers" is putty in their hands still, and that his function is to make them agree to die industrially by stages.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, quite a number of men have been here since yesterday morning representing organizations throughout the country. They are here to go on record. I want your permission to have them state whom they represent and what, and to briefly express their views.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you call the names?

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Richard Dwyer, of Boston, Mass, representing the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Mr. DWYER. Mr. Chairman, I represent 30,000 citizens of Massachusetts who have given 5,000 of their boys that America might secure democracy all over the world. I speak not only for the men and women of Irish blood of Massachusetts, but I feel I speak also for the whole citizenship of Massachusetts, because, not very long ago, the Legislature of Massachusetts unanimously passed a resolution demanding independence for Ireland.

The point has been made here of sectarian differences. The Catholic ancestry of the leading Irish people and the protestant ancestry of President McKinley both suffered for the same cause.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. PATRICK O'HAGERTY, OF SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Mr. O'HAGERTY. On July 28, 1775, the American Congress drafted an appeal and presented it to the people of Ireland which began in this way: "We desire the good opinion of the virtuous and humane." Gentlemen, you know the answer which the people of Ireland gave to that appeal.

Ireland appeals to you through her children who are in exile, through the leaders of her race who are unlawfully imprisoned in England, and she appeals to you in the same way that your ancestors appealed to her.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. JOHN J. HEARN, OF WESTFIELD, MASS.

Mr. HEARN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I come from Representative Treadway's district, and I feel I speak the sentiments of practically everybody in western Massachusetts favoring this resolution. The question is: Can America do justice to herself unless she favors it? We entered this conflict and enunciated our principles. These principles were in favor of liberty throughout the world, in favor of self-determination for all small nations, and this most assuredly includes Ireland. Can we to-day

allow that question to stand and not be properly taken care of by our representatives at the peace conference? I believe that action is absolutely necessary. I thank you.

**STATEMENT OF MR. HUMPHREY O'SULLIVAN, OF LOWELL, MASS.**

Mr. O'SULLIVAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I came from Lowell, Mass., the home of the great American, Cardinal O'Connell, and well known as the Spindle City of America. At a great gathering held in Lowell, Mass., last week there were assembled the representatives of all the Irish societies of the city. It was a tremendously large meeting, and at that meeting resolutions were passed in favor of self-determination for Ireland, and those resolutions have been forwarded to the Congressman of the fifth district, the Hon. John Jacob Rogers, a member of your committee.

Mr. ROGERS. May I add that I had the pleasure of inserting those resolutions in the Record in full yesterday morning?

Mr. O'SULLIVAN. I thank you.

I am here at the request of the United Irish Societies of Lowell, Mass., to voice their sentiments on behalf of self-determination for Ireland. The city of Lowell has a population of 125,000 people. Sixty-five per cent of that population is Catholic. It is an industrial city, and you can count 45 different nationalities among its inhabitants.

I have been commissioned to come before you and impress upon you their attitude on the momentous question now before you for consideration.

As a member of Typographical Union No. 310, of Lowell, I feel that I am at liberty to speak for the labor organizations of that industrial city.

As a merchant and one affiliated with the financial interests of the city, and State of Massachusetts, I feel also at liberty to speak for them, for it is my solemn opinion that in the great State of Massachusetts an overwhelming majority of its citizens are in favor of giving a square deal to Ireland in this crisis.

I am here to add the worth and weight of my commendation to the resolution that has been passed and presented by our Congressman, and I was very much shocked and annoyed just a while ago to hear Mr. Fox make the statement that the men who are here in favor of this resolution were pro-German. I will ask Mr. Fox if he still believes what he said a moment ago, that the people who are advocating this resolution are pro-German.

Mr. Fox. I believe all who are members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians are pro-German.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN. That is not the question. You stated that those men who are here are pro-German. Isn't that so, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. I can't pass on that. You ask him the question and let him answer it.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN. If you said that these men who are here to-day in favor of this resolution are pro-German, you are falsifying.

Mr. Fox. That is all right, sir.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN. I appeal to my Congressman, the Hon. John Jacob Rogers, that it is a fact that I am and have been pro-ally since the drop of the hat. [Applause.]



Mr. ROGERS. There is no question about that with anyone who knows you.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN. My sympathies were with the French in the conflict of 1870, and my sympathies have so continued down to the recent conflict. My sympathies were with the French in 1914, but if the English joined with the French I couldn't change my attitude, because I knew that eventually the American Nation would be drawn into the conflict. I was pro-ally from the drop of the hat. Therefore, Mr. Fox, I will not let you get away from here with that statement uncontradicted, and I want to tell you further, sir, that there is no one that has appeared here in favor of these resolutions who has done half as much good for them as you have. [Applause.]

In 1914 home rule for Ireland was passed over the veto of the House of Lords, but it has not been put in operation yet; but in February, 1918, if some wise prophet had told Lloyd George that victory of the allies was obtainable on November 11 of that year, provided he gave complete independence to Ireland, he would welcome the offer as an opportunity to save England from ruin and defeat. The present moment is ominous with possibilities. Until America entered the conflict on the side of the allies they were beaten; they were only waiting for the count. Each nation was asking the other: "What are you fighting for?" And it remained for our great President to formulate a platform broad, wide, and strong enough and appealing enough to the hearts of all the peoples of the world to make the issue inspiring—to make the world free for democracy.

He did more. He took the side of the oppressed peoples of the world. He drove a wedge between autocracy and democracy and told the oppressed of all nations that the success of the allies' cause meant the freedom and "self-determination" of the small nations of the world, and England and the allies said "Yes."

You will remember that among the 14 articles promulgated by our great President one was for the freedom of the seas, and you will notice that England insists upon the right of search, the right of embargo, and the right of blockade. When those 14 points were announced, why didn't she take this attitude on them? In my opinion upon the question of "self-determination" for Ireland she will tell you that the Irish people can decide what form of government they want, but in the process a few intellectuals in Ulster must not be coerced, and why? Is it because they fear the domination of Catholic Ireland? The city of Lowell, Mass., as I have already said, is 65 per cent Catholic, yet four-fifths of the city government is Protestant, and its entire school board. Surely, this would not indicate intolerance on the part of the Catholics.

I can not dismiss this question without taking notice of the number of men contributed and the valor of Irish soldiers in the English service. I desire to emphasize the figures given by Miss Hughes, and when to these numbers are added the Irishmen who joined the forces from Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada—all in face of the fact that England withheld from Ireland the freedom she claimed for Belgium and the other small nations—Ireland did her share and more than her share in the war.

I thank you gentlemen for your patient hearing, and wish you success.

MR. SABATH. There are several Members of Congress who introduced resolutions on the subject who requested us to be heard, and there are also other Members who desire to speak, and I wish to know whether any arrangement of time has been allotted to them or are we giving all of the time to the delegations that are here, and will we give additional time to some others who wish to be heard at some future time?

THE CHAIRMAN. As far as I was concerned I promised Miss Rankin to give her an opportunity to be heard.

MR. SABATH. There is Mr. Lundeen, who has a resolution on the subject who also desires to be heard, and then there is my colleague, Mr. John W. Rainey, who was preparing a resolution on this subject but didn't have time to introduce it, is here.

MR. GALLAGHER. Mr. Rainey will be called on later.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. EDWARD RYAN OF SYRACUSE.

MR. RYAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: I will simply content myself with stating that I am here to-day as the representative of 65,000 men, members of the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association. We have 5,000 men bearing arms; that they were not shirking is evidenced by the fact that, up to the present time, we have been called upon or notified of 125 deaths fighting in the cause of human liberty.

I ask this committee, on behalf of the young men who are over there and on behalf of the members who are here at home and who have been supporting the Government every minute of their lives, asking you representatives of the American people to remember the grand old Declaration of Independence that declared and set forth to the world the principle that all men were created free and equal. We wish you to apply that principle now to the case of Ireland. We ask you not to make an exception of her. We ask you to couple Ireland with all those other downtrodden small nations of Europe, and say that we mean Ireland as well as we mean Poland, or Ukraine, or any of the countries.

This morning, before coming up to this committee room, I wandered over into the house where President Lincoln died, and in looking around saw a card with this inscription which to my mind should typify the position of America: "I must stand with everybody that is right, stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong."

#### LETTER FROM JUSTICE DANIEL F. COHALAN.

The chairman of the committee presented the following letter from Justice Daniel F. Cohalan, New York, and directed that it be made a part of the record:

SUPREME COURT,  
CHAMBERS STREET,  
New York, December 11, 1918.

DEAR MR. FLOOD: I am sorry that because of illness it will not be possible for me to appear before your committee to-morrow to advocate the adoption of the Gallagher resolution in favor of the application of the doctrine of self-determination to Ireland. I know of no duty which a citizen owes to his country at the present hour transcending the importance of contributing in every possible

way to the making of a just and permanent peace to the end that we may put a stop to wars and that the world may never again have to endure such agony and suffering as it has just undergone.

Whether such a thing is possible is questioned by many thoughtful students of history, but at least no effort should be spared by those who speak with the voice of authority at the peace conference to end the old quarrels which have been vexing mankind and to make a real peace and not simply a patchwork of selfish interests such as was made by the Congress of Vienna. No greater service could be done to the general cause of humanity than to end the age-long quarrel between Ireland and England, because its effects are not local or even national, but have spread all over the world and have lasted not for years but for generations and for centuries.

There is no country with which America has closer or more intimate ties of blood and sympathy than Ireland, and no race which has contributed more in war and peace to our service and development. Ireland has done far more even than France for the cause of American liberty and American growth, and we have just shown in the case of France that we are a grateful people and seek rather than avoid the payment of any debt of gratitude which we owe.

Moreover, the statesman who settles the Irish question—and no settlement which does not meet the view of the majority of the people of Ireland will be a real settlement—will have done more for England than her greatest statesman has been able to do. England has tried every means of settling the question except the real one of justice, and has failed absolutely and completely, as Lloyd-George now confesses.

Such talk as that of Winston Churchill to-day about Irishmen failing to agree is futile and beside the point. There is no country in the world in which there is unanimity on political or economic questions, and there is more political agreement in Ireland among the great majority of the people than there is either in America or England.

England has made many promises during this war, in her hours of difficulty, about her wishes to bring freedom to the small nations and to oppressed peoples. It will not become her and will not in the long run serve her real interests for her to repudiate them now that, with the help of America—and that was concededly essential—she has won the war.

The elections in Ireland on Saturday next will undoubtedly show that even with a great army of occupation in possession England can not coerce the will of the people of Ireland. They have fought the fight for freedom for centuries, and will undoubtedly continue it until they attain their entire freedom.

Let us, now that it is within our power to do so, insist upon having the President's doctrine of self-determination apply to the case of Ireland as well as to the cases of all the other suffering peoples of Europe, and the result will be a just and durable peace—one that will benefit mankind, help England as no other act will, and further ennoble the name of America among the benefactors of humanity and the moral leader of the world.

Sincerely yours,

DANIEL F. COHALAN, *Justice*.

## STATEMENT OF MR. JOHN GRAHAM, OF CLEVELAND, OHIO.

MR. GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am here representing the Mayo Men's Association and other Irish organizations of the city of Cleveland, Ohio; also the Irish-American Republican League of Cuyahoga County, Ohio. The gentleman opposing our cause here, Prof. George L. Fox, who says he represents himself but who, I think, is representing England, says the Irish in America are pro-German. This I take as an insult to the good Irish-Americans who gave their all—money and men—to help Uncle Sam to crush tyranny and, as our good President Wilson said, "to make this world a safe place to live in." Now, then, gentlemen, I am also here representing 300 Irishmen who came over from Ireland rather than fight for England after England refused them the measure of home rule she had promised them. And this is what I

am doubly proud to tell you: That I assisted in drafting a letter to our President and Secretary of War on behalf of these 300 young Irishmen, who offered their services to Uncle Sam on the condition that they be made American citizens. The privilege was granted through our President and your honorable Congress, and to-day the 300 are in the American Army and fought for the freedom of small nations, Ireland included. Has Prof. Fox done as much for America?

Mr. GALLAGHER. I have some resolutions which I would like to go into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Let them go in.

Mr. GALLAGHER (reading):

Mr. CHAIRMAN: Not wishing to expend time in urging arguments which have been ably proposed already, permit us simply to state that a resolution similar in scope to the one here under discussion will be presented next Sunday evening, December 15, at a mass meeting in Pittsburgh. The mayor and ex-mayor and members of the city council are to be present, and some of them will speak in favor of the resolution.

We are authorized, in the unavoidable absence of the delegate representing the labor organizations of Pittsburgh and western Pennsylvania, to state that similar resolutions have been passed by their general committee as well as various local divisions.

PATRICK F. FITZGERALD,

*Representing United Irish Societies of Pittsburgh, Pa.*

PATRICK CRONIN,

*Representing Duquesne University of Pittsburgh.*

#### STATEMENT OF WILLIAM J. CARY, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM WISCONSIN.

Mr. CARY. Mr. Chairman, I am glad to voice my earnest approval of these resolutions and to express the sincere hope that the committee may report them favorably. I have introduced similar resolutions at former sessions of Congress, but am only too pleased to support my colleague, Mr. Gallagher, in any movement that shall win for Ireland the right to be considered at the peace table.

In the name of democracy, in the name of humanity, in the name of America, as well as in the name of Ireland, let us give to the people of Ireland that inalienable right of self-determination; that God-given privilege of self-government which has been the guiding and sustaining ideal of the American people from the day the first shot for liberty was fired at Lexington down to the last gallant battle of the boys in France for the cause of human freedom.

#### STATEMENT OF REV. JOHN F. FENLON, D. D., PRESIDENT OF DIVINITY COLLEGE, CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.

I have been requested by the Irish societies of Montana and by men of Irish blood in that State to speak for them before this committee on behalf of Mr. Gallagher's resolution. These men are citizens of the United States and their sons and brothers form a very large proportion of Montana's quota in our fighting forces. Their views on the Irish question are shared by nearly all their fellow citizens. One evidence of this, familiar to the gentlemen of this committee, is the resolution introduced into Congress by the Montana

Representative, Miss Rankin, which is to the same effect as Mr. Gallagher's. Miss Rankin's resolution, I believe, voices the sentiment of all Montana.

The first point I would make, gentlemen, is that Congress may with propriety pass this resolution. The principle of it is simply the foundation of just government in America, and, according to our American ideas, of all just government; namely, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. It is a principle that no loyal American can deny with any consistency. That the principle ought to be applied to Ireland, as a distinct nation capable of self-government, is a proposition which no American can fairly controvert on grounds of logic or facts. Assuming this for the moment as true, we realize that the only question that can be in the minds of this committee is: Can it with propriety recommend this resolution to the House and can the House of Representatives with propriety pass it? The only objections, I suppose, are that it might be considered a matter of delicacy regarding our associate in the war, Great Britain, and that it might embarrass our delegates at the peace congress. It is undoubtedly a matter of delicacy, but when the rights of a nation are at stake, delicacy must yield to the prime consideration, which is justice. A false delicacy should not hinder America from speaking for justice to Ireland, merely because that justice must come from our associate in war. If Prussia had been the master and oppressor, we should not hesitate to demand justice for Ireland; why should we hesitate because it is England? Are the powers that fought for justice—and won—expected henceforth to be less just than those that fought against it—and lost? Can not England be expected to do justice voluntarily, as Germany and Austria both have to do it under force? England has declared repeatedly that she is fighting for the rights of small nations. Let us take her at her word and declare the satisfaction and joy with which all America will see her recognize Ireland's right to self-determination. All true democrats in England, and they are millions, will approve our resolution.

Furthermore, gentlemen, millions of our citizens feel very strongly that America has the duty of speaking for Ireland at the peace conference. It is the cause of justice to a whole people, and who will speak for Ireland if we do not? Why should the national aspirations of Ireland alone be ignored at the peace conference? So preposterous and so unjust and so discriminatory would be the ignoring of Ireland's cause that it is impossible to believe that President Wilson will neglect to speak for it and to fight for it. The American Congress can not, in justice to itself, keep silent. It is impossible to be neutral in such a matter. If you are not for the cause of Ireland, you are against it; for to refuse to act is to acquiesce in the continuance of the injustice to Ireland. The honor of ourselves and of the allies is strictly involved in the just settlement of this question. To ignore it, gentlemen, is to make a mockery of the allied cause. We at least must do our part, not in a merely formal manner but with all strength, out of an intense love for justice. Then our honor will be unsullied, and if we fail, the shame will rest on England.

Some may think it imprudent to pass this resolution. They may fear that it will do more harm than good. Ireland and the friends

of Ireland are willing to run the risk. These timid men underestimate the influence of American opinion. We are not sanguine of converting Balfour, Bonar Law, and Carson, but the influence of American opinion, proclaimed by the American Congress, will unquestionably strengthen democratic opinion in Great Britain. A declaration like this, breathing America's sincerity, courage, and love of justice, will encourage all liberty-loving and fair-minded Englishmen, and their number is legion.

I have been taking for granted, gentlemen, that the justice of Ireland's cause is evident. What proof can it need for any mind imbued with American principles? Ireland is a distinct nation, distinct in race, history, tradition, mental gifts, temperament, geographical position—in everything that goes to make a nation. She demands, with every nation that has the spirit of free men, the right to be herself and to govern herself and to shape her own destinies. The English experiment has lasted for centuries and has been a tragic failure and a shame. It is folly to continue the experiment longer, and a crime as well. It is Ireland's turn now. But let not America make the same mistake which even some of the best Englishmen have made, of thinking that economic prosperity will satisfy the Irish people. Ireland demands now the right to live her own life apart from England and to develop her own soul, whether or not some tie still binds her to the British Empire. We are ourselves partly responsible for this, for we have preached Sinn Féin to the whole world, and fanned the flame of Irish Sinn Féin. President Wilson's principles, so luminously and forcibly expounded, are Sinn Féin, pure and adulterated. Ireland believes in the sincerity of President Wilson and of America. To fail her would be treason to the cause of justice and liberty.

The only objection to Ireland's right that is worth a moment's thought is the Ulster difficulty. Two things I wish to say. First, that a small section of Ireland can not be allowed forever to thwart the will of the great majority of Irishmen. No country can be governed on the principle of requiring unanimity. When Lloyd George declares Ulster will never be coerced, he abandons the principle of majority rule and deliberately encourages Ulster, or rather one part of Ulster, in her recalcitrant attitude. The recalcitrant part of Ulster will yield and make the best of it when it knows it has to.

The other word I would say in regard to Ulster concerns the proposal of some Ulstermen to allow secession of a portion of Ulster. It is enough to quote the chairman of the Irish convention, Sir Horace Plunkett, who says the time has gone by "when any other section of the Irish people would accept the partition of their country even as a temporary expedient." Ireland will not abandon her ideal of one nation, free and undivided, in which all Irishmen, without distinction of creed and on a footing of equality, unite in the service of Ireland.

The fear of religious intolerance from a dominant Catholic majority is hardly more than a specter conjured up by politicians. It is believed in only by the ignorant and the fanatical. Many of Ireland's best loved leaders have been Protestants, and Irish Catholics could never be so base as to inflict any injustice upon the brethren of these men. If you will inquire into the matter you will

discover that no people knows better how to discriminate between religion and politics than the Catholic people of Ireland. They showed in the Irish convention, and on every occasion, that they are willing to give all possible guaranties to insure the religious freedom and equality of Irish Protestants. Through centuries of bitter persecution, Irish Catholics have learned the value of religious freedom and they hold the crime of religious persecution in deep abhorrence. The fear of it is not seriously entertained by any statesman of the British Isles.

There is another and a very different point of view, gentlemen, which I beg to put before you. A just settlement of the Irish question is necessary for right and cordial relations in the future between England and the United States. There is no use in blinking the fact that there is a great amount of unfriendly feeling toward England among our countrymen. This is by no means confined to men of Irish and German descent. It is quite as keen among men of English descent. There is nothing more desirable, however, in international relations than a warm and firm friendship between the two branches of English-speaking people; and nothing would be more disastrous than antagonism between these two nations. On their continued good relations depends in great measure the future peace of the world with all the blessings to humanity which it will bring. Now, it is the part of American statesmanship to look far ahead and to remove anything that might endanger cordial relations between England and America. This is especially so as there is bound to be intense commercial rivalry between these two great powers. Hitherto, in recent times, the rivalry was chiefly between England and Germany; now, and for many decades to come, this rivalry will be between England and America. We have built a vast fleet of merchant marine which we intend to expand year by year. Responsible leaders have declared also for the policy of a large navy to defend our merchant marine and our long coast line. This is a prospect that England can not view with entire equanimity; and on our part it is commonly felt that we have no power to fear except the power of the British Navy. This is bound to create a delicate situation. It is no chimerical fear and it may one day lead us to the verge of war. It is our duty, therefore, to promote such a feeling among our people as will render them friendly toward England and remove as far as possible the danger of such a disastrous war.

Now if England fails to do justice to Ireland and exhibits at the peace congress the disposition to domineer and to grab which has too often characterized her, there is no doubt whatever that feeling against her in this country will become very bitter and intense. She can soften all this if she acts with a sense of justice and with some magnanimity. This is what is desired by the best element of England, which is very large, and though it is not dominant now, the future belongs to it. Our duty is to help it along, to encourage it.

It is well to remember that America can no longer say to her children that they have no right to make a European question a matter of domestic politics. If Americans have sent their sons and brothers to shed their blood for the freedom of European nations, they will claim the right to speak for that freedom. They will demand that American statesmen support the just and impartial

application of the principle of self-determination to European nations. Men of Irish race who volunteered so freely to fight in this cause are not the men to keep quiet if justice is denied to the European nation in which they are most interested. The Irish question, if unsettled, will surely become a burning question of American politics, and it is not beyond probability that parties may stand or fall by their fidelity to the just application of this principle to Ireland.

At the same time we must recognize that the injection of European issues into American politics is very undesirable. They should all be eliminated. But the way to eliminate them is to settle the grievances that keep them alive. Then, undistracted by such foreign issues, all Americans will bend all their efforts to make themselves one homogeneous people, united for the welfare of our common country.

The CHAIRMAN. Some members of the committee would like to hear from Dr. McCartan.

**STATEMENT OF DR. PATRICK McCARTAN, OF COUNTY TYRONE, ULSTER, MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT, KINGS COUNTY, IRISH ENVOY.**

Dr. McCARTAN. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I could go into great detail in telling what Ireland has done for the allied cause, but our demand for independence is not based on anything we have done or refused to do. We are asking for justice and nothing more. We are asking for nothing that is not our own. We are asking for no favors from England.

In the days of Wolfe Tone, when he approached the French Government for aid in securing Irish independence, that Government suggested Ireland would get Jamaica as indemnity. Ireland asks no indemnity. She merely asks England to get out of Ireland and leave it to the Irish.

A great deal has been said about Protestants and Catholics in Ulster. That is one of the false pleas that England advances for remaining in Ireland.

We know no Catholic and no Protestant in Ireland, just as we do not know them in the United States. There is no bigotry in Ireland, such as is stated by British propagandists and described by English agents.

I am an Ulster man and I know Ulster. I was born and lived in one of the Ulster counties that was to be excluded from the jurisdiction of Ireland, but that same county was this year put under martial law because of its strong national feeling.

When the Ulster volunteers were arming I helped them, because I knew the arms would not be used against us.

When I helped the Irish volunteers to arm I knew that those arms would not be turned against their fellow countrymen.

When, for seven weeks in 1916, I was in hiding from the British agents because of my part in the Easter revolution, it was a Protestant family in Ulster that sheltered me.

As Miss Hughes has pointed out to you, our flag represents a union of all the people of Ireland. It was designed by the Protestant leader, Wolfe Tone. With reference to Wolfe Tone I would make this further statement, which no Irish Catholic will question and



which I will ask the Catholic priests here to verify, that there is not, in the calendar of saints, any names dearer to the hearts of the Irish Catholic people than the names of the Irish Protestant saints and martyrs, Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, Fitzgerald, and the rest.

Self-determination, in the form of a plebiscite, in which the adult manhood and womanhood of Ireland would vote, would mean leaving to the Irish people themselves the decision as to the form and character of the government they want to live under. That, in my opinion, would carry out the American ideal of government and would be in accord with the letter and spirit of President Wilson's various declarations as to America's object in the war.

Those declarations were at least tacitly accepted by the allied governments and were hailed in England, both in the speeches of responsible ministers and articles in the leading newspapers, as the principles for which the war was being fought.

There was not a word of dissent, in England or in America, from the principle of self-determination until the war was over, until the decisive victory, which could not have been won without American help, arriving in the nick of time, had turned the tide. Coming after the war has been won, the objections at both sides of the Atlantic would place the United States in a false position in which, we are convinced, the American people will not consent to have their Government placed.

So long as Ireland remains under the heel of England—and that is an exact description of the present position—she will remain an international problem and a menace to the world's peace. The whole civilized world, therefore, is concerned in seeing the Irish question permanently settled, and no country in the world is more intimately concerned in its settlement than is the United States.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. DIARMUID LYNCH, OF NEW YORK.

MR. LYNCH. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I appear not only as an American citizen and national secretary of the Friends of Irish Freedom, a federation of societies throughout the various States of the Union, having in their ranks citizens descended from many races, as well as those of Irish blood, but also as one of the men returned unopposed last week on the Sinn Fein or Irish Republic platform in Ireland.

It is well that America should understand the real present-day Irish situation. And I speak of it as of my own personal knowledge, having fought in the Irish revolution of 1916, for which I was sentenced to be shot by the British Government. This sentence was commuted to 10 years' penal servitude, and I have had personal experience in British convict prisons.

Incontestable facts have been placed before you concerning the bad rule of England in Ireland, but what Ireland most objects to is foreign rule.

Ireland has her back to the wall and looks the whole world square in the face. She will accept no measure of devolution from the British Parliament, no matter how designated. She will be satisfied only with a settlement secured in accordance with the wishes of her own people—expressed through a plebiscite of her entire adult population—without any restriction whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that include women?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what age?

Mr. LYNCH. Over 21, I should say.

Mr. ROGERS. Would you say that the vote of the men alone would be satisfactory?

Mr. LYNCH. No; the Sinn Fein party in Ireland is committed to the policy that women are entitled to equal rights with men in the government of Ireland.

The case of Ireland was drawn up for presentation to the peace conference by Irish leaders most competent to write and present it; but, gentlemen, each and every one of these leaders is to-day imprisoned in England. These men and women, leaders of the Irish people, and hundreds of their principal supporters, are held in custody of England, without charges legally preferred against them, and are denied trial. Lord Wimborne, lord lieutenant of Ireland at the time when the alleged acts for which they are imprisoned are said to have been committed, stated in the British Parliament that he, the head of the British Government in Ireland, had no evidence to sustain a charge.

Ireland is shut off from the world and prohibited by the civil, naval, and military power of England from sending her representatives direct to Versailles, there to present her case to the peace conference and to endeavor to secure the recognition of her independence.

Notwithstanding all that Ireland has suffered at the hands of England, the suspension of the exercise of her sovereign will, which she has never surrendered, the domination of her people by military and naval force, the burdens of overtaxation, the tragic wiping out of her population, the crushing of her industries, the suppression of her merchant marine, the campaign of calumny to which she has been subjected, the falsification of her history, her ideals and her aspirations—notwithstanding all this, Ireland asks only that her wrongs shall cease here and now, that right be substituted for might, and that she be allowed to work out her own national destiny, “free as the Great God made her.” Gentlemen, in view of the arguments advanced in Ireland’s behalf, and relying on your historical knowledge of Ireland’s national rights and on the spirit of genuine American justice, which I am sure animates you, I am happy to feel that this resolution introduced by Mr. Gallagher will be reported favorably to Congress and that Congress will stand by the application of the principles enunciated by President Wilson and the fathers of our country, and secure the fulfilment of Ireland’s national aspirations.

Mr. GOODWIN. Did I understand you to say that you had been elected a member of Parliament?

Mr. LYNCH. I have not been in Ireland since last May but understand that, in my absence, I was nominated, and that there were no opposing nominations.

Mr. GOODWIN. Are you an American citizen?

Mr. LYNCH. I am an American citizen.

Mr. GOODWIN. Irish citizenship is not a prerequisite to election to Parliament?

Mr. LYNCH. In the present position of Ireland no such question arises.

The policy of the Sinn Fein party is that none of its members shall sit in the British Parliament or take any oath of allegiance to the British Crown. The Sinn Fein party is pledged to "deny the right and oppose the will of the British Parliament and the British Crown, or any other foreign Government, to legislate for Ireland."

Mr. COOPER. Will you please give us a definition of Sinn Fein?

Mr. LYNCH. I am glad to do so, as it is a term widely misunderstood in America. Sinn Fein simply means "we ourselves"—a synonym for self-reliance. Every good American, as such, is a thorough supporter of the Sinn Fein principle.

Mr. SABATH. I would like to ask the gentleman a question. He being elected to the new Parliament without any opposition, with 21 others, I take it for granted that he is in position to know what form of Government they will have there if self-determination is granted, and whether the Sinn Fein party and people of Ireland believe in personal and religious freedom?

Mr. LYNCH. The platform of the Sinn Fein party is for an Irish Republic, and, in the proclamation of the Irish Republic on Easter Monday, 1916, the fullest measure of religious freedom was guaranteed to every person in Ireland. Notwithstanding the fact that the whole machinery at the coming election is in the hands of the British Government, that they will have control of the ballots from the 14th of December to the 28th of December, I believe that the people will declare in favor of an Irish Republic.

Mr. COOPER. As we all know, Great Britain has no written constitution—Parliament is supreme. This Republic has a written constitution—the organic law of the Republic—subject to amendment, but the amendment of which is difficult. It has what amounts to a bill of rights, guaranteeing personal and political liberty. Will that form of government which you think will be installed in free Ireland have a written constitution?

Mr. LYNCH. Most assuredly. I am confident that the Irish Parliament would at the earliest moment possible draft and adopt a written constitution and include in it the fullest guaranties for personal and religious liberty.

Mr. TAGUE. In what way do the Irish people desire to express their will on self-determination?

Mr. LYNCH. Under the present election conditions it is not possible for the Irish people to fully show where they stand. The leaders of the Sinn Fein Party are imprisoned in England, as already stated, and this letter, which I desire inserted in the record, will explain other conditions. The letter is as follows:

DUBLIN, November 20, 1918.

*To the Editor of the "Irish Independent," Dublin.*

SIR: I desire to call public attention to the fact that the Government already has arrested, without charge and in succession, three Sinn Fein Directors of Elections—

- (1) Mr. Sean Milroy, in Cavan, on May 17;
- (2) Mr. Daniel MacCarthy, in Dublin, in September; and
- (3) Mr. Robert O'Brennan at these offices to-day.

Each arrest has naturally caused some disorganization, but the cause of Irish Independence will not be stayed or broken by such tyranny. Men have been, and will be, found who will fill the vacant places.

It may, however, be of interest to Irish voters and to the world outside Ireland to point out that, in addition to these assaults on the machinery by which

Sinn Fein endeavors to secure Self-Determination at the coming General Election, the Government now detains in jail:

- (1) The President of Sinn Fein.
- (2) One of the two Vice-Presidents.
- (3) The two Treasurers.
- (4) The two Secretaries.
- (5) All but one or two of the members of the late Standing Committee, except those for whom warrants are issued, but not yet executed.
- (6) And if our candidates are elected at the coming General Election, thirty-four constituencies will be represented by men in jail, six by men evading arrest, four by men in the United States of America.
- (7) In addition, hundreds of workers, local election directors, agents, organizers, etc., are detained, some without trial, and some on long sentences for "crimes" which even the English Government has only recently invented.

(Signed) JAMES O'MARA,

*Sinn Fein Director of Elections, Pro Tem.*

Mr. TAGUE. But, assuming that self-determination is granted them, what would be the procedure?

Mr. LYNCH. There should be a full register made of all the adult voters of Ireland and the voters then given liberty—without any restrictions imposed by England—to choose the exact form of government they desire to live under.

The CHAIRMAN. A representative doesn't necessarily represent the section he comes from? He may come from any section? You may have all of them from the north of Ireland or all of them from the south of Ireland?

Mr. LYNCH. That is true. A man may be nominated for a constituency, irrespective of his residence, but he must be elected by the voters of the constituency which he is to represent.

Mr. COOPER. Let me say that in this country it isn't required that a Member of the House of Representatives shall be a resident of the district in which he is elected, but he must come from the State from which he is elected.

Mr. COLUM. You have asked, Mr. Chairman, can a person from any point of Ireland represent any given place in Ireland. The case of Sir Edward Carson, who was the leader of the Ulster party, is in point. He is a South-of-Ireland man, born in Cork, and practices law in England. He is not a member for an Ulster constituency at all. He is one of the members for Dublin University. Dublin University has the privilege of returning two members of Parliament. The word "election" is a misnomer there, because Dublin University is a close corporation. It is a mere matter of nomination, and Sir Edward Carson is not, strictly speaking, a member for an Irish constituency at all.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he reside in Ulster?

Mr. COLUM. No; he resides in England.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever reside in Ulster?

Mr. COLUM. Never.

Mr. GALLAGHER. The next speaker will be Miss Jeannette Rankin, Member of Congress from Montana.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. JEANNETTE RANKIN, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM MONTANA.

Miss RANKIN. I introduced a resolution last January asking that the House of Representatives pass a resolution saying that this Government recognize the right of Ireland to political independence, and

that we count Ireland among those countries for whose freedom and democracy we are fighting. I have brought that resolution up to date by adding that we ask our representatives to present this resolution. I do not ask that my resolution be passed instead of Mr. Gallagher's, but I merely wish to say that I still stand by that resolution; that I feel the people of America are the people who understand the feelings of the people in Ireland for their struggle for liberty and democracy, because we have had very much the same struggle; and I simply feel that the women realize what this struggle means because of the struggle that they have gone through for liberty and democracy, and that we should help those who need our help. We realize what help meant to us when we were going through our struggle.

I have some correspondence here that I would like to present to the committee, some telegrams and letters, asking the committee to pass this resolution. Here are some petitions from organizations and men and women over the country, and these other documents are merely letters saying that they are pleased that the resolution is before the committee.

I do not ask the committee to print these last, but to take them under consideration.

I have also a collection of the utterances of the President on the question of self-determination of small countries. It was after many of these utterances had been made that I introduced my resolution before, and I would like those to be printed with my remarks. I thank you.

PUBLIC UTTERANCES MADE BY PRESIDENT WILSON RELATIVE TO SELF-DETERMINATION OF SMALL NATIONS.

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS BEFORE CONGRESS, JANUARY 8, 1918.

[Congressional Record, Jan. 8, 1918, p. 708.]

\* \* \* What we demand in this war \* \* \* is that the world be made  
\* \* \* safe for every peace-loving nation which, like our own, wishes to live  
its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair deal-  
ing by the other peoples of the world as against force and selfish aggression.  
\* \* \* The program of the world's peace \* \* \* is this:

\* \* \* \* \*  
VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored,  
without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with  
all other free nations. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*  
XI. \* \* \* International guaranties of the political and economic independ-  
ence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered  
into.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include  
the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be  
assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic  
independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international  
covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific cove-  
nants for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence  
and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

\* \* \* \* \*  
\* \* \* An evident principle runs through the whole program I have out-  
lined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their  
right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether  
they be strong or weak. \* \* \*

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS BEFORE CONGRESS APR. 3, 1917.

[The Washington Post, Apr. 3, 1917.]

\* \* \* We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus \* \* \* for the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried near our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberty of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. \* \* \*

EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS AT ARLINGTON, VA., MAY 30, 1916.

[The Washington Post, May 31, 1916.]

\* \* \* I said \* \* \* that one of the principles which America held dear was that small and weak States had as much right to their sovereignty and independence as large and strong States \* \* \* because strength and weakness have nothing to do with her principles. \* \* \*

EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS IN MUSIC HALL, CINCINNATI, OHIO, OCT. 26, 1916.

[Cincinnati Inquirer, Oct. 27, 1916.]

We are a great Nation, a powerful Nation; we could crush some other nations, if we choose; but our heart goes out to these helpless people. \* \* \* America does not believe in the rights of small nations merely because they are small \* \* \* but we believe in them because when we think of the sufferings of man kind we forget where political boundaries lie and say, "These people are of the flesh and blood of mankind, and America is made up out of the peoples of the world." What a fine future of distinction and glory is open for a people who by instinctive sympathy can interpret and stand for the rights of man everywhere.

EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS BEFORE CONGRESS, FEB. 11, 1918.

[Official Bulletin, Feb. 11, 1918, p. 2.]

This war had its roots in the disregard of the rights of small nations and of nationalities which lacked the union and the force to make good their claim to determine their own allegiance and their own forms of political life.

EXTRACTS FROM NOTE TO BELLIGERENTS SUGGESTING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS, DECEMBER 18, 1916.

[State Papers and Addresses, p. 346.]

Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war.

In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or government. They stand ready, and even eager, to cooperate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command.

EXTRACTS FROM ADDRESS TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 22, 1917.

[S. Doc. 685, 64th Cong., 2d sess.]

The equality of nations, upon which peace must be founded if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guaranties exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are

powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world—that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

EXTRACTS FROM MESSAGE TO HIS HOLINESS BENEDICTUS XV, POPE, THROUGH SECRETARY OF STATE ROBERT LANSING, AUGUST 27, 1917.

[Official Bulletin, Aug. 29, 1917, p. 4.]

They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of people, not the rights of the government—the rights of people great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world. \* \* \*

We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong.

EXTRACT FROM OFFICIAL BULLETIN, DECEMBER 3, 1917, PAGE 1, IN MESSAGE TO THE KING OF ROUMANIA.

[Official Bulletin, Dec. 3, 1917, p. 1.]

\* \* \* In any final negotiations for peace it will use its constant efforts to see to it that the integrity of Roumania as a free and independent nation is adequately safeguarded.

EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS BEFORE CONGRESS, DECEMBER 4, 1917.

[Official Bulletin, Dec. 4, 1917, p. 2.]

The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans, and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent and alien dominion of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS BEFORE CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 11, 1918.

[Official Bulletin, Feb. 11, 1918, p. 3.]

Peoples are not to be handed about from one sovereignty to another by an international conference or an understanding between rivals and antagonists. National aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. "Self-determination" is not a mere phrase. \* \* \*

EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS BEFORE NEW CITIZENS' ALLIANCE, CHICAGO, OCTOBER 19, 1916.

[New York Times, Oct. 20, 1916.]

Let us stand by the little nations that need to be stood by. \* \* \*

EXTRACT FROM ADDRESS BEFORE LEAGUE TO ENFORCE PEACE, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 27, 1916.

[The Washington Post, May 28, 1916.]

We believe these fundamental things: \* \* \* Second, that the small States of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and \* \* \* territorial integrity. \* \* \*

**STATEMENT OF MR. THOMAS J. McNAMARA, OF ST. LOUIS, MO.**

Mr. McNAMARA. I represent the Building and Trade Council of St. Louis, Mo. It is a labor organization and not an Irish organization. It represents 21 labor organizations and every nationality on the globe; has a membership of approximately 12,000 people, and on December 9 the following resolution was adopted. I wish that to go into the record.

St. Louis, Mo., December 9, 1918.

CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE,

*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

SIR: At a meeting of the representatives of this council held this date the question of applying the principle of self-determination to Ireland, when the negotiations for peace are undertaken, was freely discussed, with the result that the following resolution was adopted:

*"Be it resolved,* That it be the sense of this meeting that the principle of self-determination, as enunciated by President Wilson in his speech setting forth the 14 points as a basis for negotiating peace, be applied to Ireland as well as to other peoples of Europe."

I have been directed to transmit this information to your honorable body with a request that you kindly give it the consideration it merits.

Hoping the deliberations of your committee will be of lasting benefit to all mankind, we remain, honorable sir,

Yours, very respectfully,

[SEAL]

BUILDING TRADES COUNCIL OF ST. LOUIS, MO.,  
Per MAURICE J. CASSIDY, *Secretary*.

**STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN W. RAINEY, A MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM ILLINOIS.**

Mr. RAINEY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have listened with considerable pleasure to the suggestions offered by the representatives from all parts of the United States that Ireland have the right of self-determination, and I think the unanimity of feeling that is rampant here amongst the representatives assembled refute absolutely the oft-repeated suggestion that Irishmen can never agree amongst themselves. I have been honored with membership in the Sixty-fifth Congress, known as the war Congress. This the greatest Congress in our history, as honored as I have been by membership, my cup of happiness will be filled to overflowing if this committee reports this resolution favorably to the House and there is expressed the belief of the American Congress that Ireland should take her place among the nations of the earth.

I was not a Member of this body when the Hon. Thomas Gallagher, Member of Congress, presented his first resolution. I had in mind presentation of a resolution similar to the one offered by the distinguished Member from Chicago, but felt that offering it would be superfluous, and, not looking for any particular or personal distinction, felt that there is honor enough for all and that I would contribute my mite by making it possible for this representative body to have an opportunity to present their claims before this committee. And therefore on Thursday, December 5, when I should have been in Chicago with my wife, who on that day was blessed with a new baby girl, I remained here at the Capital and accompanied Mr. Gallagher and came before this committee and urged upon them our desire to give the representatives of the Irish people



of the United States an opportunity to present their case before this body. To-day as we look through the vista of years we are thrilled with joy, we feel the warmth, we see the glow of the sunshine of Ireland's optimism. The sons and daughters of Ireland have never lost heart or hope, and to-day few nations, if any, in the world rank as high as Ireland. Measure the home of our fathers with the nations of the world in literature, the arts, the sciences and answer me, is not my claim sound in fact?

The attainment of Ireland and its people in the highest things of life is unsurpassed by any people or nation of the world.

In the arts, in science or warfare Ireland takes her place amongst the first nations of the earth. From Clontarf through the ages of bitter warfare that have been the cross of Erin, beyond the seas in the Indies, in the Orient, in the Transvaal, through the American Rebellion, in our recent world war, under conflicts of almost every nation, you will find the Irish soldier. And show me one not valorous and not true, not faithful to his cause. The history of our Republic is replete with stories of Irish valor. On land and sea the part played in the upbuilding and the preservation of our free institutions thrill us with just pride in our people.

There is a spirit of liberty ever worn in the Irish breast and the spirit of scorn for the oppressor which nothing short of absolute independence will ever satisfy. And nothing will induce them to renounce the ennobling desire for freedom which has preserved Ireland a nation in darker hours and darker times than these. Ireland wants and must have freedom. In the whole range of human history there is nothing more honorable than the struggle of the Irish people in the last 150 years. We know they were conquered, crushed, and humiliated. Young Ireland now strikes the higher note of national independence. "To the honor and glory of the Irish people and their dauntless champions in the cause of God and human right." Ireland has taught the world that trusting in God, patriotism and justice will triumph. And only a few days ago, when the great European conflict was on, and the cannons roared and shells burst, and fields were overturned and crops destroyed, and monuments of history and epics of architecture and art were demolished, and lives were snuffed out by millions, bodies scattered to the four winds, and widows wailed and orphans cried, and mothers trudged the weary way of poverty, sorrow, and hunger, and young girls collapsed by the roadside at the horrors of war and the bereavements of life, as all these outrages against peace, civilization, and religion were perpetrated, you found hundreds of thousands of Irish at the front fighting the cause of humanity.

It is true in this great land of America that when we entered this great struggle the sons of Ireland stood fast by the colors of this land, particularly during the days of peril and national trials. As one man they stood for America and the principles upon which it was founded, and for which it stands. As one man, without spirit of rivalry either political or racial, they stood by the President and the Government. And as one man they repudiated each and every citizen in private or public life or even in the councils of the Nation who dared endanger or expose to harm this great land that we call our own.

This is our country, and this is our home; this is our shelter, and this is our refuge from oppression and denial of rights. Here we have found freedom and a better mode of life. Here we have found opportunities to mold our individual careers according to the power given us. Here we have found a place where we may worship our Creator according to our conscience and our hearts, and here we ask from this honorable committee a favorable report to the House that the blessings we have enjoyed in these great United States shall now be transmitted to our people across the sea, keeping in mind the suggestions offered by our great President.

Ireland asks the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They simply wish that restored world which was taken from them. And this committee, assembled from all parts of the country, believe that we have sent across the high seas the Chief Executive of these great United States, who is thoroughly imbued with the fact that governments should be established by the consent of the governed.

The Son of Man was sent at the proper time to lead the world to light out of darkness; Moses was sent to the Isrealites to lead them out of the bondage of Egypt into the promised land; Constantine the Great was sent to form a Christian empire out of the remains of pagan Rome; Joan of Arc was sent to France in her hour of trials; Columbus opened the gates of the western world when Europe had become too small; Washington and Lincoln arose out of the American multitudes, the one to found our country and the other to lead when the Union seemed in peril. And to-day, when the universe is fevered with the lust of war, a President, worthy of the name, has arisen and is steering manfully the ship of state through the channels of peace.

May we urge upon this committee that it report back to the House the right of Ireland to nationhood.

If this is done it will be particularly pleasing to us in this sweet land of America, in this our beloved country, where Celt and Saxon come together to form the magnificent race of the future, that shall be, we may believe, the race that shall dominate the world and hasten and make speedier the coming of the day foreseen by the poet and prayed for by sage and saint; when the whole human family shall be literally one and when war shall be no more and cease amongst men; when the miserable race prejudices shall be things of the barbarous past and the whole world shall be composed of one magnificent family of which the various nations, if they shall retain their individuality, shall be but members, speak in one language and be largely assimilated in blood and religion.

There has been an objection urged by some as to the propriety of this committee reporting favorably upon this resolution to the House. Let me say that there is absolutely no impropriety in this committee reporting favorably to the House of this resolution for the self-determination of Ireland.

The President of the United States has pledged himself before this Nation and before the world in declaring war against the central powers that it was the duty of this Nation to enter the war for the salvation of the democracy of Europe and for the bringing of the fruits of democracy to all the small nations of the world. Our life, our treasure, the officers and the parties of this Nation have all sup-

ported the President and the Congress of the United States for the carrying out of this desire.

The war has been won at a tremendous cost of life and treasure, and it now remains for us to make good the pledge made to those who were willing to make these sacrifices for the carrying on of such lofty principles. And if we do not we certainly can not help but hear the voice of the dead on Flanders Field, at Chateau-Thierry, Argonne Forest, and Belleau Wood, and when Gen. Foch reviewed the troops he said that Belleau Wood from now on would be known as Bois des American, meaning, Woods of America, saying to us "If ye break faith with us who die we shall not sleep though poppies bloom on Flanders Field."

Therefore I lend my voice to the petitions already put forth by the various representatives from throughout the country to you, Mr. Chairman and your honorable body that in your report of this resolution you suggest to the Congress of the United States that our conferees in the peace conference be instructed to demand for Ireland as a small nation along with the other small nations the right of self-determination and the enjoyment of the privileges of a free people.

I present, to be spread on the record, a letter from former Gov. Dunne, of Illinois, and also a letter from Justice William E. Dever, member of the appellate court of Illinois.

DUNNE, MURPHY & DUNNE,  
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS,  
*Chicago, December 10, 1918.*

To the COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,  
*House of Representatives.*

(To which has been referred the resolution relating to the right of Ireland to self-determination of government.)

GENTLEMEN: I regret exceedingly that pressing matters here in Chicago prevent me accompanying the committee from Chicago which will appear before your committee to urge a favorable report upon the resolution relating to the right of Ireland to self-determination of government.

The great war just closed so triumphantly, I believe, has settled the right of small nations to self-determination of government, as enunciated so eloquently and forcefully by our great President, for all time.

This war had its genesis in the assertion by Austria-Hungary of the right to govern the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina without the consent of those little nations and developed into a struggle between the Slavonic and Teutonic races, and finally culminated in the violent assertion by the central powers of the right to overrun and destroy Belgium, Luxemburg, and other small nations.

For a time the struggle was confined to Europe, but when the central powers began to trample upon the rights of American citizens upon the high seas and murdered American citizens ruthlessly and remorselessly the war developed into a struggle to preserve democracy throughout the world and rights of free nations and peoples to conduct their governments in accordance with the wishes of these peoples.

The issue has now become world wide. The farseeing statesman in the White House has given to the world a declaration of national rights applicable equally to great and small nations, and has voiced the true sentiment of the American people.

These rights must be asserted, and will be asserted, in the peace conference soon to assemble. Among the small nations which should be accorded that right is Ireland, who, for nearly 800 years, has been struggling to assert that right against British domination.

No reason can be truthfully urged why the people of Ireland should not be accorded the right of other small nations. Ireland has never invaded any other country, nor sought to interfere with the rights of any other country to

determine their scheme of government. Famine and depopulation from nearly 9,000,000 to about 4,500,000 during the last 70 years has been the result of foreign domination, against which she protests. Her sons have been scattered throughout the civilized world and have attested their love of liberty in every land in which they dwell. They fought for the preservation of the Union in this country and for the independence of the South American Republics. Millions of men of Irish blood in this country have hailed with joy the attitude of the American Republic expressed through its President, and would respectfully request that the Congress of the United States uphold his hands before the peace conference by declaring that Ireland, as well as Belgium, Luxemburg, Bohemia, Serbia, Herzegovina, Bosnia, and other small nations shall be given the right to determine the form of government under which they shall exist and develop.

Very respectfully,

E. F. DUNNE.

CHICAGO, ILL., December 10, 1918.

Hon. KICKHAM SCANLAN,

*Judge of the Circuit Court, Cook County, Ill.*

DEAR JUDGE SCANLAN: I regret very much, indeed, my inability to accompany your committee to Washington. I intended to be with you, as you know, but circumstances beyond me compel my presence here on Thursday next.

However, I am convinced that your purpose in going to Washington will be fully realized. The present issue as to Ireland is perfectly simple and clear. The announcement is made that the peace conference to be held in Paris will definitely set at rest the question of the right of all nations, both large and small, to determine for themselves their own form of Government. It can not be true that the Irish people alone are to be denied a privilege which is to be recognized as a fundamental right of every people on the face of the earth.

Poland is to be permitted to govern herself. Poland was not a party to the war, except, like Ireland, in so far as she was by force compelled to submit to the sovereignty of other nations. This is also true of Armenia and the several peoples who went to make up the Austrian Empire. There is no difference in principle between the status of these people and that of the Irish. Such difference as there is is merely one of degree. The injustice to and the sufferings of Ireland have continued for centuries longer than those imposed upon many of the other peoples referred to.

Twenty-six counties of the 32 in Ireland desire that Ireland shall be treated as other peoples are to be treated by the peace conference; and this wish is supported by a large percentage of the people of the other 6 counties. Many millions of American citizens, men and women of Irish nativity or descent, believe, now that a congress of nations is about to provide for the relief of the oppressed nations of the earth, that it is eminently fitting that the United States Congress should announce that the Irish people, who have given so much of their service and blood to this Nation, should not be excluded from the right to determine for themselves such kind and form of government as they may see fit to live under.

Sincerely, yours,

WILLIAM E. DEVER.

Mr. COOPER. Miss Hughes has handed me a definition of the word Sinn Fein, which I believe should go in the record. "Sinn Fein literally means, 'We ourselves'; in a broader interpretation it means, 'We ourselves rely on ourselves'; 'we ourselves will govern ourselves'; 'we ourselves will be free men, not bond men.'"

Miss HUGHES. May I add that George Washington was the greatest advocate of Sinn Fein in all history.

#### STATEMENT OF MR. JOHN P. O'CONNOR.

Mr. O'CONNOR. Mr. Chairman and honorable body, I represent the Street Car Men's Organization of the city of St. Louis, Mo., numbering 5,000. We have got 1,450 men in the colors to-day. The first man who paid the great sacrifice on the fields of France was an Irishman, born and raised in Ireland. The men of my organization

delegated me to come here before your committee. They comprise men of all the nationalities on earth, and they are heart and soul with Ireland in getting the same justice as Poland, Greece, and Serbia.

In line with Mr. O'Sullivan's statement, I was in Ireland 15 years ago, and had two brothers in Ireland when this war broke out. When they first passed home rule for Ireland and King George signed it, my brothers volunteered; they went over to the Dardenelles, came back wounded, and went a second time; they were transferred to Greece, and then to Macedonia; were wounded, and transferred back to France; and to-day they are in a hospital in England. I have a brother that volunteered in Canada and served with Canadian troops. He is in an English hospital to-day. I have a brother that was a motorman, and I think it was on the 28th day of April, 1917, he volunteered in the American Army, and to-day he is fighting in France. This man Fox, talking about American citizens of Irish blood in this room being pro-German, has the wrong idea when he says I am not a good American citizen.

#### STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN PETER F. TAGUE.

Mr. TAGUE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I shall not take up the time of the committee in making any extended remarks on this question, but wish to reiterate all that has been said in favor of self-determination for Ireland. I represent, in person, in this Congress a city having perhaps more people of Irish blood than any city in this country, the city of Boston. I represent the district known as Bunker Hill. That is my home. Bunker Hill is made up to-day of 40,000 people. Over 37,000 people of those are of Irish blood. That district to-day in the Army and the Navy of the United States is represented by more than 4,500 men. They are the sons of Irishmen, and they are sons of the members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. We have given as freely of our boys in proportion, as great in numbers as any district in this land, and we are the children of these Irishmen, loving our own United States. Knowing the history of the country of our fathers, we come before your committee asking for the passage of a resolution that will give self-determination to Ireland, that she may rule herself as we rule ourselves, and that she may come into her own, that which she has fought for for centuries, and what which she has helped other nations to secure, freedom and liberty.

Mr. SABATH. You are just as sincerely for the determination of the rights and independence of all other nations, such as Bohemia and Poland, are you not?

Mr. TAGUE. I believe in the freedom of all the peoples of all the world.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES POPE CALDWELL, MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

Mr. CALDWELL. I did not intend to say anything here, but the statement that I have heard, that this is a Catholic meeting, compels me to say a word.

I am a Protestant of the fourth generation. My great-grandfather was a member of the Irish Volunteers, a Protestant. [Applause.]

It occurs to me that the passage of this resolution is going to answer one great question that has troubled many of our people, and troubled them particularly about the time we were going into the war. That question: Did we enter this war to fight for England, or with Great Britain and Ireland? If we went in to fight for England, the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Fox) is right, but if we went in to fight with Great Britain and Ireland, then we owe it as a duty to stand for the great principle of democracy that has been advocated by our President since the beginning of this great trouble, and see to it that the people all over the earth have a right to self-determination. That applies to Ireland, as it applies to the Kurds, the Christians, the Jews, the Jugo-Slavs, the Czechs, and every other people on the earth who have in their bosoms that thing that has been taught by America, that all men are born free and equal, and each is entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness wherever he may be. [Applause.]

**REMARKS OF HON. JOHN J. DELANEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK.**

MR. DELANEY. Mr. Chairman, I am proud of the opportunity afforded me at this time to speak a few words in favor of this resolution. You have already heard the story of Ireland and her sons. Her sufferings have borne fruit in America in the love of liberty her sons have brought from the old land. Celtic idealism has shone the brighter for the long night of oppression which has enshrouded Erin for centuries. But now the answer to the eager questioning of anxious hearts to the watchmen on the walls, "What of the night?" seems about to be "The morning cometh." For England, too, has had her adversity. The deep significance of the blood shed by England in the recent struggle, the titanic and terrible character of which has staggered humanity, I will not seek to determine here.

It has been said that the impecunious condition of the British exchequer is the only real obstacle to a juster dealing with Ireland now. Yet I am loth to hope that if our peace commission will lend their powerful support to the movement England will soon be ready to do justice to a nation and a people long neglected and misused.

I believe, and I can not help wish, that the British Government would show at least rudimentary common sense in Irish affairs and not deliberately plant mines of discontent and resistance all over the English-speaking world. Everything has been muddled by the British Government in Ireland, and I am firm in the conviction that the support of the many thousands of Americans who sympathize with the principles of self-government everywhere—in Ireland no less than in Poland or Bohemia or Serbia—has been embarrassed and scarcely less than scorned. For some unexplainable reason every step in the recent past taken by the British Government toward conciliation in Ireland was immediately taken back. I can see no harm whatever in America lending its wise counsel in the hope that this disturbing question may be settled now once and for all. I earnestly ask the members of this committee to report this resolution to the House, where I believe it is sure to meet with practically the unanimous approval of Congress.

## STATEMENT OF MR. P. T. MORAN, OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

MR. MORAN. Mr. Chairman, I represent the United Societies of Washington in the winters and in the summer I represent a good big district of Virginia, and I got a good deal of my inspiration from the history-making men of Virginia. It has given me inspiration to speak for the self-determination of the smaller nations of the earth. I have also been associated with some of the big business organizations in this city. Having been president of the Chamber of Commerce of Washington for two years I had an opportunity to come in contact with the various business men of the various nationalities, and being one of the "exiles of Erin" from time to time the question of Ireland would come up, and I must confess that I have never found a man that has said an unkind word toward those who have been championing the Irish cause and favoring the independence of Ireland. I appreciate the fact that public sentiment will be the guiding movement behind this proposition to get you gentlemen to act favorably on this resolution. We hope this committee will act favorably on this resolution, because if you do not there will be 20,000,000 of American citizens of Irish blood in this country who will feel disappointed to think that some of their sons shed their blood on the other side fighting for democracy, and fighting for the liberation of smaller nations and that Ireland, the cradle land of their forefathers, should be denied the right of self-determination.

## REMARKS OF HON. GEORGE F. O'SHAUNESSY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM RHODE ISLAND.

MR. O'SHAUNESSY. No unbiased mind will challenge the statement that Alsace-Lorraine has been a thorn in the side of France since the Franco-Prussian War. One of the underlying causes of the great war now happily ended was this German war spoil taken from France in 1870. France is to have Alsace-Lorraine restored to her, and Germany will be the better for it. Ill-gotten goods never bring luck.

Why should Ireland not be restored to her own people? Why should not the legislative crime of 1800 be undone? No honest man will attempt to defend the act of union by which Ireland was deprived of her legislative independence. Imperfect as the Irish Parliament was, and corrupt as it was, it did a great good for Ireland, particularly from 1782 to 1800. The law prohibited Catholics from membership therein.

Lord Sheffield, who wrote upon Irish commerce in 1785, said: "At present, perhaps, the improvement of Ireland is as rapid as any country ever experienced." Lord Clare, speaking in 1798 of the period that had elapsed since 1782, said: "There is not a nation in the habitable globe which has advanced in cultivation and commerce, in agriculture and manufactures with the same rapidity in the same period."

Four-fifths of the people of Ireland were against the act of union with Great Britain. The act was accomplished through wholesale bribery and corruption of the Irish Parliament made up of men largely from rotten boroughs. A referendum to the people on the question of the union was refused.

Catholic opposition was put to sleep by a promise of emancipation which did not become a reality for 29 years afterwards, mainly through the spirited leadership of Daniel O'Connell.

If justice and honor and right are to be enthroned at the peace table, how can Ireland's claims go unrecognized? Is it not the accepted time for her people to be given the opportunity to decide their lives for themselves? We in America believe in majority rule, and bow with graciousness to majority decree. Why not let the majority in Ireland determine their political life? The ballot in the hands of every man and woman in Ireland over 21 will soon end an age-long question, if those men and women are permitted to vote upon the question of the kind of government they want. Such a verdict by Irish men and women honestly recorded and enforced would bring to England the plaudits of the world. Only crass, stupid, junker statesmanship will oppose such a solution.

I favor the Gallagher resolution, and I know that its passage by this Congress will bring joy to the hearts of every red-blooded American. It will be hailed with satisfaction by the great British democracy, which is as urgent as its brethren in America that justice be done the long-suffering Emerald Isle.

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to propose an extension in the record also by printing the memorial sent to the prime minister of England in April, 1917, signed by about 175 Members of Congress.

I think that action which called for a solution of the Irish question was in a very large way the forerunner of the hearings we have been having for the last few days.

Mr. SABATH. I think that privilege was accorded our friend, Mr. Gallivan, of Massachusetts.

#### **ADDITIONAL REMARKS OF HON. JAMES A. GALLIVAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS.**

Mr. GALLIVAN. In connection with the suggestion of Congressman Rogers, I desire to submit at this stage of the hearing a copy of the petition which I had the pleasure of drawing up and cabling to Hon. Lloyd-George. May I add that in addition to the very representative number of Members of Congress who signed the appeal there were countless other Congressmen who spoke to me after they read the printed petition in the Congressional Record, and assured me that they would gladly have given their signatures for use if they had been approached.

The message sent to Lloyd-George read as follows:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 28, 1917.

The Right Hon. DAVID LLOYD-GEORGE, M. P.,  
London, England.

You are quoted as saying that "the settlement of the Irish question is essential for the peace of the world and for a speedy victory in the war."

May we, Members of the American Congress, suggest that nothing will add more to the enthusiasm of America in this war than a settlement now of the Irish problem.

We believe that all Americans will be deeply stirred and their enthusiastic effort enlisted if the British Empire will now settle this problem in accordance with the principles announced by President Wilson in his address to Congress



asking it to declare war on autocracy for the world-wide safety of democracy and of small nationalities.

Champ Clark, of Missouri, Speaker of the American Congress; James A. Gallivan, of Massachusetts; John J. Fitzgerald, of New York; Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina; John F. Carew, of New York; Daniel J. Griffin, of New York; William C. Adamson, of Georgia; William A. Ayres, of Kansas; Eugene Black, of Texas; Henry Bruckner, of New York; James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina; Clement Brumbaugh, of Ohio; Charles P. Caldwell, of New York; Philip P. Campbell, of Kansas; William H. Carter, of Massachusetts; Walter M. Chandler, of New York; Frank Clark, of Florida; Charles P. Coady, of Maryland; James W. Collier, of Mississippi; Peter E. Costello, of Pennsylvania; Harry H. Dale, of New York; Perl D. Decker, of Missouri; S. Wallace Dempsey, of New York; Edward E. Denison, of Illinois; A. G. Dewalt, of Pennsylvania; Peter J. Dooling, of New York; Dudley Doolittle, of Kansas; H. G. Dupré, of Louisiana; L. C. Dyer, of Missouri; John J. Eagan, of New Jersey; Joe H. Eagle, of Texas; Henry I. Emerson, of Ohio; John R. Farr, of Pennsylvania; Simeon D. Fess, of Ohio; H. F. Fisher, of Tennessee; Joseph V. Flynn, of New York; A. T. Fuller, of Massachusetts; Thomas Gallagher, of Illinois; Warren Gard, of Ohio; M. M. Garland, of Pennsylvania; James P. Glynn, of Connecticut; James A. Hamill, of New Jersey; Rufus Hardy, of Texas; Robert D. Heaton, of Pennsylvania; J. Thomas Heslin, of Alabama; Walter L. Hensley, of Missouri; Benjamin C. Hilliard, of Colorado; Edward E. Holland, of Virginia; W. C. Houston, of Tennessee; W. Schley Howard, of Georgia; Murray Hulbert, of New York; Benjamin G. Humphreys, of Mississippi; William L. Igoe, of Missouri; Edward Keating, of Colorado; Walter Kehoe, of Florida; Ambrose Kennedy, of Rhode Island; Irvine L. Lenroot, of Wisconsin; J. Charles Linthicum, of Maryland; Meyer London, of New York; Augustine Lonergan, of Connecticut; George R. Lunn, of New York; James McAndrews, of Illinois; Medill McCormick, of Illinois; Tom D. McKeown, of Oklahoma; Joseph McLaughlin, of Pennsylvania; Jeff McLemore, of Texas; Martin B. Madden, of Illinois; James P. Maher, of New York; Charles Martin, of Illinois; William E. Mason, of Illinois; Jacob Meeker, of Missouri; Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming; Andrew J. Montague, of Virginia; John M. Morin, of Pennsylvania; Patrick D. Norton, of North Dakota; George F. O'Shaunessy, of Rhode Island; Arthur W. Overmyer, of Ohio; Frank Park, of Georgia; James S. Parker, of New York; Michael F. Phelan, of Massachusetts; Charles H. Randall, of California; Daniel J. Riordan, of New York; William A. Rodenberg, of Illinois; Arthur B. Rouse, of Kentucky; Frederick W. Rowe, of New York; Adolph Sabbath, of Illinois; Thomas J. Scully, of New Jersey; Thetus W. Sims, of Tennessee; Charles B. Smith, of New York; Thomas F. Smith, of New York; Homer P. Snyder, of New York; Christopher D. Sullivan, of New York; Peter F. Tague, of Massachusetts; Charles B. Timberlake, of Colorado; George H. Tinkham, of Massachusetts; Carl C. Van Dyke, of Minnesota; William S. Vare, of Pennsylvania; Joseph Walsh, of Massachusetts; Charles B. Ward, of New York; Henry W. Watson, of Pennsylvania; Edwin Y. Webb, of North Carolina; William W. Wilson, of Illinois; William S. Greene, of Massachusetts; Reuben L. Haskell, of New York; F. H. LaGuardia, of New York; Frank E. Doremus, of Michigan; Fred A. Britten, of Illinois; G. W. Templeton, of Pennsylvania; Luther W. Mott, of New York; Isaac Bacharach, of New Jersey; John R. K. Scott, of Pennsylvania; Charles H. Rowland, of Pennsylvania; Henry A. Clark, of Pennsylvania; Edgar R. Kiess, of Pennsylvania; George P. Darrow, of Pennsylvania; Aaron S. Kreider, of Pennsylvania; Edwin E. Robbins, of Pennsylvania; John M. Rose, of Pennsylvania; Charles H. Sloan, of Nebraska; Thomas S. Crago, of Pennsylvania; Julius Kahn, of California; William L. La Follette, of Washington; Charles A. Kennedy, of Iowa;

Ebenezer I. Hill, of Connecticut; Benjamin K. Focht, of Pennsylvania; Charles C. Kearns, of Ohio; George W. Edmonds, of Pennsylvania; John W. Langley, of Kentucky; Nathan L. Strong, of Pennsylvania; J. Hampton Moore, of Pennsylvania; John J. Rogers, of Massachusetts; Frederick W. Dallinger, of Massachusetts; Calvin D. Paige, of Massachusetts; John R. Ramsey, of New Jersey; Ben Johnson, of Kentucky; Riley J. Wilson, of Louisiana; Isaac Siegel, of New York.

### STATEMENT OF REV. WILLIAM J. KIRWIN, BUFFALO, N. Y.

Rev. Father KIRWIN. I will read a telegram from Congressman Smith, a member of your committee. Here is his telegram:

BUFFALO, N. Y., *December 11, 1918.*

Rev. WILLIAM J. KIRWIN, *Washington, D. C.*

Having complete sympathy with the movement to allow Ireland, as well as other small nations, to determine her own destiny and establish the government which best meets the needs and desires of her own people, I am naturally desirous of doing everything practicable and honorable to bring success to Ireland's self-determination movement. As to the specific legislation before the committee I have not had the opportunity to read the resolution or study its provisions.

CHARLES B. SMITH, M. C.

Mr. Chairman, all I have to say in this matter is this: Any question that disturbs the peace of the civilized world assumes the status of an international question. The Irish question is disturbing, has disturbed, and, unless settled, will continue to disturb the peace of the civilized world, and, therefore, it assumes the status of an international question. If it is an international question, it is a question on which Congress can intervene. The objection to that is that the English say it is a domestic question, but that is a play on words, because questions which had once been domestic questions have now become international questions. The Bolshevik question, which was once a national question is now an international question, and the question of the Dardanelles and Bohemia are now international questions. We hold that a mountain of unpleasantness has arisen out of the national sphere into a question that affects the civilized world—and when I say the civilized world, even if we omit France, Switzerland, and so on, and limit it to England and Ireland—it affects all the civilized world, because as it used to be said when France was sick, Europe was sick; so we can say to-day when Ireland is sick, Europe is sick. Therefore, I offer that as an idea for Congress, the supreme law-making body of this country, having all the power and the machinery to legislate—no other body in this country has that power—and we ask Congress to exercise the power with which it is endowed.

### STATEMENT OF FORMER CONGRESSMAN MICHAEL F. DONOHUE, OF PHILADELPHIA.

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I will not detain you because I know your broad grasp for world affairs. I, too, would pay my respects to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Fox), whether self-constituted or paid or employed, and it shows the audacity of those self-appointed men in questioning the right of our country to instruct our delegates when it is shown that a commission appointed to go into the question of the financial

situation between England and Ireland, concluded that Ireland had been robbed of vast sums of money within the previous 75 years, and in spite of the fact that a million men had died of famine that was man-made. He denies the fact that American generals and almost one-half of the people that fought in the Revolutionary War in America were Irish and spoke the Irish tongue, denies the services of Jack Barry, which have never been denied except by those who would falsify Ireland; denies Steven Moylan, the right-hand man of George Washington, and all the other great men. It is impossible for so great and learned a gentleman as our friend from Connecticut to so distort the history of the United States as he has attempted to do.

#### STATEMENT OF REV. T. J. HURTON, OF PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Rev. Father HURTON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I represent 133 units of 25 different organizations of Pennsylvania with 60,000 members. I also represent a public meeting at which 10,000 people attended in the Academy of Music, and also on Broad Street, Philadelphia, filling one whole square, on December 10, 1918, at which Senator Phelan and Mr. Conboy, the director of the draft in New York, spoke for the self-determination of Ireland, and at which 150 of the most prominent Pennsylvanians, including eight Catholic bishops of Pennsylvania, were vice presidents, and of which the honorary chairman and one of the vice presidents was Governor-elect Sproles of Pennsylvania; and two of the vice presidents were Rabbi Cosgrove and Rabbi Newman. The meeting was an American one and I desire to file this document adopted by the meeting:

*To the President and Congress of the United States of America:*

1. We, the undersigned, citizens of the United States, differing in race, religion, and domestic politics, are one in the belief that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." This basic principle of American liberty is nobly championed by our great President. To win self-determination for all peoples, this justice-loving Republic entered the world war.

2. The Irish nation is one of the oldest in Europe. Its contribution to civilization in the centuries of its independence is highly esteemed by all who read history.

Ireland never surrendered her national rights. The act of union, so called, was passed by a Parliament corrupted by England, in which less than one-fifth of the people of Ireland were represented. Two years before this "union," in 1798, and three years after it, under Robert Emmet, Ireland fought for her national independence, as she did in every century since the English invasion.

The net results of British domination in Ireland are destruction of industries, poverty, and depopulation.

In the last 70 years Ireland's population has been cut in half while England's has almost trebled.

3. Irishmen played a large part in freeing America from foreign rule and in the development of the Republic. In the present conflict over half a million Americans of Irish blood served in our Army and Navy. It is estimated that an equal number of men, born in Ireland (most of them exiled by bad economic conditions at home), enlisted throughout the world. From the Provost Marshal General's report it appears that a larger percentage of alien cobelligerents of Irish than of any other nationality waived exemption in the United States. For example: Ireland, 30.4; England, 22.5. These men offered their lives for world freedom, confident that such a freedom would include the motherland of their race. No race now being freed has done more for world liberty in this war than the Irish race.

4. At this supreme moment, when the wrongs of centuries are being righted, a military despotism keeps the voice of Ireland from the ears of the free nations. Irish jails are filled with the best citizens. Many leaders of the people and elected representatives are deported to England and imprisoned without trial or even legal accusation.

5. In the face of these autocratic conditions a conference which met in the Mansion House, Dublin, and had delegates from 80 per cent of the elected representatives of Ireland, unanimously addressed President Wilson, June 11, 1918, and urged self-determination for Ireland as "a sovereign principle between a nation that has never abandoned her independent rights and an adjacent nation that has persistently sought to strangle them."

Of the national councils of oppressed peoples that have appealed to our President, none was more clearly representative of the will of its nation than the Mansion House conference, appealing for the Irish nation. Our patriots could muster no such proportion for independence in 1776. Democracy is majority rule. In no nation is unanimity found, yet England maintains for her own purposes the will of 20 per cent as against the will of 80 per cent of the Irish people.

6. England despite her professed acceptance of the President's principles, has (by Parliament vote Nov. 5, 1918) refused Ireland self-determination.

7. Deeming this an opportune time, as American arms are victorious, we confidently petition the President and Congress to exercise the unique power for justice of the United States to secure for Ireland, equally with Finland, Poland, Bohemia, and Belgium, that self-determination which President Wilson has demanded for all peoples—the form of government to be decided by adult suffrage of the people of Ireland—and representation at the peace conference and in the league of nations. Let history record that America secured for Ireland that justice which the sons of both nations freely bled to win for all peoples.

America, to equal Ireland's man contribution to the war, would have to place 11,000,000 men on the fighting fronts.

Gentlemen, I now request the insertion in the record of "Ireland's Plea for Freedom," by William J. M. A. Maloney, M. D., late captain of the British Army; also the Sinn Féin platform, adopted at their convention, 1917.

#### IRELAND'S PLEA FOR FREEDOM.

[William J. M. A. Maloney, M. D., late captain in the British Army.]

#### THE IRISH ISSUE IN ITS AMERICAN ASPECT.

About 150 years ago the American States, becoming increasingly self-conscious, felt it to be inconsistent with their rights longer to submit to colonial bondage. They readily perceived a community of interests with Ireland, the oldest of England's dependencies. Not that the American States, 3,000 miles from England, had ever experienced the weight of the yoke which Ireland, on the threshold of England, endured. But in principle the problem confronting the two dependencies was identical. "The question in both countries," wrote Froude ("English in Ireland," p. 189), "was substantially the same; whether the Mother Country had a right to utilize her dependencies for her own interests irrespective of their consent." And the all-wise Franklin, preparing for the contest which was to settle this question for his people, visited Ireland in 1771 to emphasize to the Irish Patriot party the essential unity of American aims with Irish interests. "I found them," he records ("Franklin's Works," VII, pp. 557-558), "disposed to be friends of America in which I endeavored to confirm them with the expectation that our growing weight might in turn be thrown into one scale and by joining our interests with theirs a more equitable treatment from this nation (England) might be obtained for themselves as well as for us." Franklin not only sought through Ireland to weaken England in the impending struggle against the American States, he also contemplated an affiliation of Ireland and of Canada with the people he represented. His diplomatic mission was followed up by action on the part of the first general Congress which met in Philadelphia on September 4, 1774.

For any subject of England to aid America was, of course, treason against England. And the American Fathers, conscious of the consequences of this crime, deemed it their duty to forbid the Island of Jamaica to incur the dangers of aiding the Revolution. "The peculiar situation of your Island," said the Congressional Letter to the Jamaican Assembly, read on July 25, 1775, "forbids your assistance." Remoteness from England endowed Jamaica with, at least, relative safety. If wise discretion was advisable in Jamaica, it might have been considered imperative in Ireland, isolated and well-nigh defenseless at the very gates of England, and therefore in a "peculiar situation" to perform vicarious expiation for all traitorous colonists.

But no admonition to caution came from Congress to moderate Irish ardor for the American cause. Instead, Congress appointed a committee to draft an address "To the People of Ireland," which was read on July 28, 1775, and which ran as follows:

"We are desirous of the good opinion of the virtuous and humane. We are peculiarly desirous of furnishing you with the true state of our motives and objects, the better to enable you to judge of our conduct with accuracy and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision. Your Parliament has done us no wrong. You had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind; and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and of America."

The judgment sought by Congress from Ireland was so unanimous in favor of America that the disastrous effect of the Revolution on Irish trade did not prevent "the mass of the people, both Catholic and Protestant, from wishing success to the patriotic colonists" (Mitchel). "Ireland was with America to a man," declared Pitt, the "Great Commoner" (Bancroft's "History of the United States," vol. VII, p. 194). The people of Dublin presented their thanks, and the "Merchants' Guild" gave an address of honor to the Earl of Effingham who "refused to draw the sword against the lives and liberties of his fellow subjects" in America. In Belfast meetings were held and money was raised to support the American cause. And Grattan boldly referred to America as "the only hope of Ireland and the only refuge of the liberties of mankind" ("Select Speeches of Grattan," edited by Duffy, p. 104). The menace of that "hostility to the pretensions of England" which Franklin had sought to excite in Ireland grew aggressively until it proved powerful to reinforce American valor in establishing the independence of the revolting States.

The Americans had incited in the Irish a fervor for freedom which Lord North and his contemporaries, in spite of conciliation, corruption, and concession, failed to calm. It did not evoke a crisis till 1782, and it did not make the country a shambles till 1798; but from the first it was an ever-present danger at the very heart of the British Empire and it gravely handicapped the war council at Westminster in the conduct of their operations against the American revolutionaries.

But apart altogether from the influence which Ireland's attitude exerted upon the fate of the American Revolution, England had direct evidence of the Irish share in her defeat.

Practically the first blow in the Revolution was struck on behalf of the American rebels by the son of a Limerick schoolmaster, John Sullivan, of New Hampshire, who on December 13, 1774, captured the Fort of William and Mary. The first stroke at British sea power was delivered for America off Machias, on the coast of Maine, in May, 1775, by Jeremiah O'Brien. Richard Montgomery, of Rapahoe, and other Irish generals helped to lead the American forces in the field; Andrew Brown, an Ulsterman, served as Mustermaster General; Stephen Moylan, brother of the Bishop of Cork, acted as aid-de-camp to Washington and later as Quartermaster General to the Forces; John Barry, formerly of Wexford, founder of the American Navy, scoured the seas; the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick contributed to the revolutionary treasury \$517,000, an immense sum in those days; and men of Irish birth and blood stood high in the councils of the revolutionary Government. The famous Pennsylvania line, the bulwark of the American defense, was called "the line of Ireland," so largely was it formed of Irishmen. The New Jersey line "bristled with Irishmen." There were Irishmen in every American camp and field. In the course of a debate in the Irish House of Commons on April 2, 1784, the Hon. Luke Gardiner stated:

"I am assured from the best authority that the major portion of the American Army was composed of Irish and that the Irish language was as commonly

spoken in the American ranks as English. I am also informed that it was their valor determined the contest so that England had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants."

Major General Robertson, of the British Army, in "The Evidence as Given Before a Committee of the House of Commons on the Detail and the Conduct of the American War" (London, 1785), is recorded as testifying under oath that the American General, Henry Lee, informed him that "half the rebel Continental army were from Ireland."

In 1779 Count Arthur Dillon, the son of an Irish nobleman in the service of Louis XVI, addressed to the French War Office a petition on behalf of all the Irish soldiers in France craving that they be allowed to go to fight for American freedom. The petition being granted, he sailed from Brest with 2,300 Irish troops. In conformity with the American plan of campaign, Dillon was directed to attack British strongholds in the West Indies. He and the other Irishmen, the very van of the forces sent from France, soon paralyzed British power in the West Indies and captured there bases of British activity against America. Presently, Count Arthur Dillon was Governor of St. Christopher; Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Fitzmaurice, Governor of St. Eustasia, and Lieutenant Colonel H. D. Dunn, Commandant of the Island of Granada.

The Irish died on the field, languished in the British prison hulks in the harbor of New York, lived maimed, and were branded traitors, that America should be free. And when the Declaration of Independence was issued among those who signed it were: Smith, Taylor, and Thornton, of Irish birth; McKean, Read, and Routledge, of Irish parentage; Carroll and Lynch, grandsons of Irishmen; and Hancock and Whipple, of Irish descent on the maternal side. Well might George Washington Parke Custis, the adopted son of the Father of the United States, say to his countrymen:

"The Shamrock should be entwined with the laurels of the Revolution. Americans, recall to your minds the recollections of this heroic time when Irishmen were your friends and when in the whole world we had not a friend beside. The rank grass had grown over the grave of many a poor Irishman who had died for America ere the Flag of the Lilies floated in the field by the Star-Spangled Banner."

The triumph of the American cause had the consequence in Ireland which the American Fathers had humanely foreseen in the case of Jamaica. The Irish share in that triumph induced a very natural resentment in England, to which the proximity of America's chief and most jubilant accomplice afforded an occasion and an opportunity for leisurely satisfaction. Hence we find General Abercromby, the penitent chief of the British Forces in Ireland, writing of the '98 rebellion: "Every cruelty and crime that could be committed by Cossacks or Calmucks had been committed in Ireland by the Army and with the sanction of those in high office." After the rebellion of 1867 John Stuart Mill (Pamphlet, "England and Ireland") felt sorrowfully impelled still to confess: "Short of actual depopulation and desolation and the direct enslaving of the inhabitants little was omitted in Ireland which could give a people cause to execrate its conqueror." Americans may gage the bitterness of England's resentment by the long persistence of her hostility to America, in spite of the conciliatory efforts of the best statesmen of both countries; and its continued action in Ireland was demonstrated in May, 1916, by the brutality of the executions of the Irish rebels, then daily occurring in Dublin, a brutality which led the doyen of American literature, a sincere friend of England, William Dean Howells, publicly to protest that mercy was still an attribute to justice.

The triumph of America imposed another and a greater burden upon Ireland. Economic conditions, unrelieved by a resentful England and, in part, imposed by her, together with the lure of freedom, converted Ireland into a nursery for the great American Republic and depleted Ireland not only of her man power but also of the resources and energies absorbed in training citizens to the greater honor and glory of the United States. In the last seventy years the population of Ireland has sunk from 8,175,124 to 4,390,219; over 6,000,000 people have left her shores, and the vast majority of these sailed for America.

The success of the American Revolution forewarned the Government of England and taught them successfully to resist its repetition elsewhere. So Ireland's task became more formidable, while she grew physically less able to accomplish it. In other words, America's triumph immeasurably increased the odds against Ireland. A striking example of this result is visible at present when Ireland is in possession of an English army of occupation which musters only half the number of the Irish born who fell in the American Civil War.

But in 1776 a new principle was forever established in the world, a principle that was assumed to be self-evident, the principle of the absolute and equal natural rights of man, rights derived from God alone. This principle was graven on Irish minds by America, when Irishmen had the honor to contribute greatly to its triumphant vindication on behalf of the citizens of the United States. The principle is obviously as applicable to Ireland as it was to America, and Irishmen, in spite of all handicaps, have never abated their efforts to enforce their right to apply it to Ireland. Since the days when she was incited by America to assert that right "with the expectation that our (America's) growing weight might in turn be thrown into one scale \* \* \* that a more equitable treatment from this nation (England) might be obtained for themselves as well as for us," Ireland has continuously maintained her right. A succession of patriots in 1798, 1803, 1848, 1867, and in 1916 "dared beyond their strength and hazarded against their judgment and in extremities were of an excellent hope" that that right might not lapse. More a small nation unaided may not accomplish for freedom, and more is not necessary to establish now the unequivocal right of Ireland to the full and free application of President Wilson's principle of self-determination.

As many Irishmen have fallen in this war as Americans. Unlike some now specially favored peoples, the Irish have fallen fighting only for the Allies' cause. If a geographical situation within the Empires of the Central Powers be not the only claim to freedom which is now valid, the claim of Ireland should be, at least in America, on an equality with the claims of other subject nations. But while other nations are fortunately freed, Irish leaders are held without form or trial or charge in English jails, an alien army occupies Ireland, martial law prevails there, and the press and the people are held incommunicado. Will Americans now recall to their minds, as Custis once exhorted them, that heroic time when Irishmen were their friends and when in the whole world they had not a friend beside? For to-day, as in the days of Grattan, America "is the only hope of Ireland." It is, however, a strong and confident hope, for on the fate of Ireland rests the whole moral structure of the Allied cause, and the warrant of America's President is sufficient guarantee for the integrity of that structure.

#### THE IRISH ISSUE IN ITS ENGLISH ASPECT.

When America, mainly to enforce in Europe her cardinal national principle of "government only by the consent of the governed," joined with England against Germany, unity of moral purpose as well as the former identity and unbroken community of American with Irish interests, together with the prominent part which Americans of Irish blood would inevitably play in this country's war efforts, seemed morally to require that England should free Ireland. England refused. America's first objective in the war was the defeat of Germany. To attain it, the maximum effort of the Allied strength was needful, and was procurable only through the completely harmonious association of America with England. It became, therefore, impolitic for America to urge a denied claim upon her obdurate associate. England's refusal led the American authorities to regard Ireland's demand for freedom as a possible cause of discord in American national unity; hence, America, the belligerent, proceeded to discourage Ireland's demand.

Powerful influences, both domestic and alien, were then brought to bear upon American public opinion, and that court, so far as the case of Ireland was concerned, virtually abdicated its function, in favor of England. Irish witnesses were denied a hearing, or were allowed to testify only through England's advocates who, at their pleasure, suppressed, altered, or mutilated the Irish testimony. The Mansion House Committee, consisting of the Nationalist, Sinn Fein, and Labor leaders, prepared a brief of Ireland's case (June 11, 1918), in the form of an address to President Wilson, and deputed the Lord Mayor of Dublin to deliver it at Washington. Because the address to the President was not submitted to the approval of the military governor of Ireland, England refused passports for the journey; and when the address ultimately reached this country, through Ambassador Page, the American press, with scarcely an exception, denied publicity to it.

These facts are now cited mainly to prove that England was entirely unfluenced and unhampered in the preparation and presentation of her defense against Ireland's claim. The form which that defense took may, therefore, be presumed to be the English aspect of the Irish issue, which England desires

every American to appreciate. And now that Germany is vanquished it is surely permissible—and, perhaps, essential to America's purpose in the war—to examine this English aspect of the Irish issue.

England alleged, first, that Ireland was too poor to exist unaided as well as too weak to live undefended, and was, in fact, at the moment both subsisting on England's bounty and sheltering under the protection of England's army and navy; secondly, that the Irish were too backward to be competent for self-government, but were, nevertheless, through the Irish representatives in the British Parliament, allowed to share in the government not only of Ireland, but also of Britain and of the Empire; thirdly, that the Irish, being divided into discordant groups of Catholics and Protestants, of Ulsterites and natives, of Unionists, Nationalists, and Sinn Féiners, were notoriously incapable of agreeing among themselves as to the form of government they desired, and that, therefore, the Irish alone were to blame for placing England, in the interests of peace and order, under the necessity of continuing to govern Ireland. At this point in the case, in response to a suggestion made by leading Americans that to facilitate the free development of America's war strength, as well as for other reasons, a settlement was desirable and might be possible (Symposium of American opinion published by the London Times April 27, 1917), the Prime Minister of England offered on behalf of his Government (Letter from Mr. Lloyd George to Mr. John Redmond, May 16, 1917) a convention of Irishmen, and later, his pledge that "if that convention could substantially agree upon any form of government for Ireland, within the Empire, England would legalize that agreement." Certain of the Irish objected that the rider, "within the Empire," begged the whole question at issue. The objection was ignored; and England appointed a group of Irish peers and commoners who, on April 5, 1918, by a final vote of forty-four to twenty-nine, agreed on a plan for the self-government of Ireland (Official Report of the Proceedings of the Irish Convention, p. 172). England, on the grounds (1) that the twenty-nine in the minority represented the British in Ireland whom the mother country could not in conscience condemn to the status of irredentists, and (2) that the size of the majority denoted lack of "substantial" agreement, declined to fulfil the Prime Minister's pledge; and, instead, proceeded to allege that the Irish issue, being a question solely of England's domestic policy, was a British and not an Irish question. In proof of this contention, conscription of the Irish solely by the English and against the unanimous vote of the Irish representatives in Commons was passed on April 17, 1918; therefore the Irish issue was beyond the jurisdiction of American public opinion.

Lastly, Britain asserted that Ireland was an enemy both of England and of America, was, moreover, a friend of Germany, and was, therefore, a menace and should be outlawed and debarred from justice. In support of the last contention (1) certain events of the rising of 1916 were disinterred (chiefly Roger Casement's activities and the alleged attempt to land arms for the Irish Republicans made by the S. S. "Auk") and exposed to the public gaze; (2) an ex-police official of Irish birth, lately a corporal in the British army, was, first, mysteriously produced from an island on the west coast of Ireland where he was said to have landed from a German submarine, and then ostentatiously interned in the Tower of London; and (3) eighty-six of Ireland's leaders were suddenly arrested (May 19, 1918) and deported to England, without charge or form, under the imputation of being concerned in a German plot.

The first remarkable feature of this English aspect of the Irish issue is its irrelevancy. The Irish issue, the right of the Irish to "government only by the consent of the governed," was neither admitted nor denied; nor was it ever even discussed by England. No effort was made to prove by geography or history, by ethnography or tradition, by religion or customs that Ireland was an inseparable part of Britain. So soon after the 1916 Rebellion, England could not credibly allege that the Irish did not desire freedom; nor was there available such evidence of Irish content with things appertaining either to this world or to the next, and derived from English rule, as would condone that rule in Ireland. In brief, the morality of the English occupation of Ireland was not defended. Would it be permissible to infer that the English occupation of Ireland is morally indefensible?

It was not on the grounds of the morality but of the expediency of that occupation that sanction for it was sought by England from America. In 1914, when Ireland was hailed by England's Foreign Secretary, Grey, "as the one bright spot in the darkness of war," when Ireland's war efforts rivaled England's, America, at that time a neutral spectator, observed that Ireland was



then, no less than she now is, denied her freedom; and was, besides, commonly subject to that Zabernism which Mr. Lloyd-George later excused as arising from "the malignant stupidities of the War Office." The Auk, in 1916, failed where a Danish S. S., renamed the Fanny, and chartered by the Carsonists, had succeeded in 1914. On April 26 of that year the Fanny landed at Larne 50,000 rifles, purchased from the Deutsche Munitionen und Waffen Fabrik, and shipped from Hamburg; and the Germans, thereby encouraged, started, in the following August, the world war that has just come to an end.

Carson's activities were the incentive to Casement's. America, the reluctant belligerent, has doubtless judged Carson; America, the America of Nathan Hale, has doubtless judged Casement also.

The allegation that Ireland is hostile to America was too vaguely put to permit or to require refutation. Unlike the Poles, the Czechs and Slovaks, and others now much favored, no Irish can be accused of fighting in the German army. The fewness of the Irish prisoners in Germany who are stated to have harkened to Casement is in itself proof of Ireland's loyalty to the Allied cause. The English royal princes and Houston Chamberlains in the German army far outnumbered the suborned starving Irish captives. Friendship with Germany (except amongst those Ulsterites who, in 1914, invoked the aid of that great "Protestant Prince," the Kaiser) was and is by necessity nonexistent in an Ireland whose chief link with Germany is hateful memories of Hessians and Hanoverian kings. Moreover, Ireland alone in all the world afforded organized combatant aid to France in the Franco-Prussian war. Again, the enlistment—even at the cost of serving in the British army—of five per cent of the 4,000,000 people of Ireland—from one-half to two-thirds of the available male population—not to mention the Irish casualties, far exceeding in number those reported to date (November 11) suffered by the 110,000,000 people of the United States, is not a sign of love for Germany. Then, too, after the United States, Ireland was the chief source of England's food supply in the war, surely not an evidence of a plot with Germany. Finally, the almost complete destruction—even to the final tragedy of the Leinster—by the German submarines of all ships plying from Irish ports, ships Irish-manned—these discreetly unemphasized things are surely no evidence of friendship with the Central Powers, much less of conspiracy therewith.

Concerning the German plot, the Irish pointed out that the former police official, the alleged submarine passenger, had landed not from a submarine collapsible but from a Ford collapsible boat made in the city of Cork; and his trial for treason, in London, was not secret enough to hide the fact that he had nothing German to reveal. It was also pointed out that the Irish revolutionary leaders, imprisoned in England at the bare announcement of the plot, were, during the time that the plotting was alleged to have occurred in Ireland, actually held in English jails because of their part in the events of 1916. Lord Wimborne, the Viceroy during whose administration the plotting was alleged to have taken place in Ireland, stated from his place in the British House of Lords, before the plot was announced, that the Irish were not pro-German but pro-Irish (November 15, 1917). After the plot was announced he denied the existence of any such conspiracy. And from then till now England has disclosed no credible evidence of the alleged plot and has declined not only to bring to trial but even to charge the alleged plotters. Under the circumstances, is the conclusion that the alleged plot was bogus, unwarranted? Would it be right to contrast (1) the grounds of expediency which England used to justify the military occupation of a helpless Ireland thus alleged to be friendly to the enemy, Germany, with (2) the grounds of expediency which Bethmann-Hollweg with frank brutality used to justify Germany in the occupation of a helpless Belgium alleged to be friendly to the enemy, England?

Nations in being vanquished are made poor and weak and are kept so to keep them subject. As a further military precaution, conquered peoples are degraded, divided, and colonized by the victor. The first four points in the English aspect of the Irish issue seem chiefly the stereotyped and tragic consequences of usurpation, disguised by time and perverted in origin. These four points sufficed both to condemn German usurpation in Poland and to justify English usurpation in Ireland. The colonists whom Germany had planted in Alsace-Lorraine served only to strengthen the French demand for restitution; the colonists England had planted in Ireland—now in many cases more Irish and anti-English than the Irish—served only to strengthen the English denial of restitution there. England correctly characterized as a temporary expedient of evident insincerity the German decree of December 8, 1916, which appointed

a Polish Council and deputed to that Council the drafting of a plan for the self-government of Poland within the German Empire. England on May 16, 1917, announced that she was about to appoint an Irish Convention and to depute to that Convention the drafting of a plan for the self-government of Ireland within the British Empire. Germany set up a provisional Polish Government and requested it to conscript the Poles, and Germany set up a provisional Esthonian Government and requested it to conscript the Esthonians, for which England rightfully denounced Germany. But without even this Teutonic concession to nationality, the British enacted conscription for Ireland. Would it be just to conclude that the Irish issue in its English aspect, as successfully presented to the American people by England, differed only in nomenclature from the Polish, Esthonian, Alsatian, and Belgian issues in their German aspect, as successfully presented by Germany to the German people?

This English aspect of the Irish might be thought to be merely the war-fevered fancy of irresponsible English propagandists. But present conditions in Ireland show that the conduct of the English in Ireland both conforms to the English propaganda here and duplicates the conduct of Germany toward her subject peoples. And this English conduct toward Ireland is not a new development, induced by the stress of war, in a sorely beset England. While Britain abroad was championing the cause of Greece and Hungary, Italy, and Poland, just as to-day she is championing the cause of—among others—the Czecho-Slovaks, Esthonians, Arabians, and Jugo-Slavs, and is insisting upon self-determination for the German African Askari, England at home held, as she now holds, Ireland from freedom. When circumstances compelled, England gave Ireland doles of liberty, and withdrew or reclaimed them when circumstances permitted. In 1782 England, in difficulties with America, France, and Holland, yielded to Ireland legislative independence forever; in 1800 England, in fewer difficulties, destroyed the independent Irish Parliament. Catholic emancipation in Ireland was and is vitiated by Protestant ascendancy rule. Nearly 100 separate coercion acts, together with periods of martial law, have efficiently filled the void in the English system of governing Ireland left by the repeal of the penal laws. The Irish in 1903 were partially restored to their own land, by the aid of money borrowed in England and repaid with interest by the Irish. The home-rule act, passed in 1913, has since remained securely interned among inoperative British statutes.

It is not necessary further to multiply instances to prove that the English aspect of the Irish issue has ever been what it now is, the conventional aspect of a conqueror to a conquered people; and if to-day be any guide to the morrow, England intends to continue to apply to Ireland, so far as America will permit, those standards which another arbitrary power was also wont to follow in dealing with subject peoples now happily free. America, the belligerent, might permit an associate much that is fortunately not American either in principle or in purpose, even the English aspect of the Irish issue, because of the necessity to substitute the American for the German aspect of certain other national issues deemed more urgent. The armistice is now signed; these issues are in process of satisfactory rectification; the substitution of the American for the English aspect of the Irish issue, the institution in Ireland of government only by the consent of the people, is now in order.

#### THE IRISH ISSUE IN ITS IRISH ASPECT.

At the time of the American Revolution the statemen of America and of Ireland had attained to almost the same eminence of political conception, and in their zeal to give to their respective peoples the principle of popular freedom, they had gone much further than any contemporary nation. One hundred and forty years later America is the arbiter of the world's destinies, and Ireland seems to be the last, if not the least, of the world's concerns. The question inevitably arises: Has Ireland affirmed her right to freedom by all the ways a conscious nationality can affirm that right? The answer can be found in Ireland's history only. The events of that history are indisputable and undisputed. Such of these events as resulted from Irish action reflect the Irish aspect of the Irish issue. Ireland can ask no fairer presentation of her case than that which the Irish themselves have offered at the court of history. And America can seek no better guide to the nature of the Irish issue, and its Irish aspect, than that which history affords of the period from the end of the American War of Independence to the present day.

At the very beginning of that period, the first great affirmation of Irish nationality occurred: An Irish volunteer army, over 100,000 strong, was organized (1782). With this army Ireland was content to accept from England a parliament endowed with "perpetual" legislative independence for Ireland. The mass of the Irish people were excluded from direct participation in this parliament; but, as it represented Irish, as distinguished from English rule, Ireland welcomed it, although America, more wise, had declined in 1778 a similar English substitute for freedom. "In 1783, a haughty petition was addressed to the throne on behalf of the Roman Catholics by an association styling itself a Congress. No man could suppose that a designation, so ominously significant, had been chosen by accident; and by the court of England it was received, as it was meant, for an insult and a menace. What came next?" (De Quincey, "The Irish Rebellion," "Essay in Life and Manners," Boston, 1851, p. 127.) Next came the suborning of the planters and placemen of Ireland's Parliament, till, under duress and largess, they yielded their function to the English Government. The Union of the Irish to the English Parliament was not legalized before 1800, but it had then long been effective. Defrauded of their perpetual legislative independence by extra-constitutional means, the Irish sought independence by arms (1798); and insurrections followed which were not finally crushed until 1803. The Union and the process of crushing the rebellions, deprived Ireland both of her planter statesmen and of her republican revolutionaries: and for a time Ireland was stunned and still and leaderless. Then O'Connell appeared with his scrupulously constitutional agitation to amend the laws by which Catholics were degraded to an inferior political status, an agitation that was as essentially an expression of a demand for political freedom as was the militant demonstration of the Volunteers, which extorted the 1782 Parliament. Peel explained his conversion to the cause of emancipation on the ground that the peasants of Clare, who he had believed were serfs, were the possessors of the "true and unbreakable spirit of freemen." Wellington frankly admitted that he supported the measure because "the Irish regiments were cheering for O'Connell." Then the Irish people, with the sympathy of Ledru Rollin in France and of President Tyler in America, put forward a constitutional demand for the repeal of the Union (1832-1844), for the return of their legislative independence, for the resumption of that path to freedom which they had trod in the days when Franklin and Washington were one with them in thought and in purpose. England defeated this constitutional demand by the unconstitutional imprisonment of O'Connell (1844). Led by Smith O'Brien the Irish again revolted (1848). Out of the grave of the insurrection of 1848 arose the Fenians, a physical-force party pledged to an Irish republic, a party that was defeated and dispersed in the risings of 1867. The Church of Ireland, mainly a hierarchy of aliens, ministering to less than a tenth of the people of Ireland, took a tithe of the country's goods. As an instalment of freedom the Irish sought the remission of this tribute by the disestablishment of the Church that legally imposed it. Gladstone who enacted the disestablishment in the English Commons (1868) confessed that it was the Fenians who had "rung the chapel bell," and he had legislated fearful of that warning. Meanwhile, a movement, through passive resistance, strikes and sabotage, to free the peasant from the status of chattel and to raise him to the level necessary for a sable national society, had spontaneously developed among the Irish peasantry. The Irish were not freed by imperial rescript, as were the "souls" in Russia. A long and relentless struggle ensued in Ireland, which was virtually ended by the Land act of 1903. While this struggle was waging, the fight for legislative independence continued. At Westminster, Parnell stood "single handed in the ford to hack and hew an ancient parliament till it fell misshapen from his sword." The fight he fought enabled his successor, Redmond, to gain for Ireland, first, local government for counties in county affairs (1898); and, finally, that modified form of legislative independence which is called Home Rule. In 1912, again in 1913, and yet again in 1914, the British Commons passed the Home Rule bill. In 1914, it received the endorsement of King, Lords, and Commons. It was then "suspended." The Irish after this final lesson in the futility of constitutional endeavor, again resorted to arms; and the Republic of Ireland was once more proclaimed (Easter, 1916). As a climax to this period, English-appointed courts, in suits brought by Dublin property owners, decreed that damage done in the 1916 revolution was legally the act of an usurping government in Ireland.

Every legislative gain sought or achieved by Ireland was in one direction; every gain was the best that was obtainable, having regard to the circumstances of the time; every method, whether constitutional or unconstitutional, was devised for one end and was designed to overcome the prevailing form of the opposition of England; every leader who sprang to take the place of him who fell or of him who was silenced by execution, deportation, or imprisonment led the forces of Ireland toward the same goal. With constitutionalists and with rebels, in peaceful and in forceful methods, in victory and in defeat, through changes of leaders, weapons, strategy, and tactics, this ultimate purpose of Ireland remained clear and invariable. It was, it is, and it will always remain the vindication of the right of Ireland to government only by the consent of the governed.

In this review of Ireland's history, measures initiated by the Irish to cement the union with England are not mentioned, for no such measures exist. Indeed, five times since the establishment of the American Republic the Irish have attempted by force of arms to found the republic of Ireland. England to this day professes ignorance of the Irish issue in its Irish aspect; but there was always at hand in Ireland, as there now is, an English army to suppress the realization of the ideal of the republic of Ireland.

In this review of Ireland's history, measures initiated by the Irish and appertaining only to Ulster are not mentioned, for no such measures exist. The Irish leaders in this continuous struggle came from all quarters of the country—Gavan Duffy, John Mitchel, and John Martin were all Ulstermen, as were also Isaac Butt and Roger Casement. They belonged to both creeds. O'Connell, Meagher, and Pearse were Catholics; Grattan, Tone, Emmet, Fitzgerald, Smith, O'Brien, Davis, Mitchel, Martin, Parnell, and Casement were Protestants; and they were drawn from all classes, from Michael Davitt of the Irish peasantry to Edward Fitzgerald of the Irish peerage. In the ranks, too, all classes, creeds, and provinces loyally served. All contributed to the victories and participated in their results; Catholic emancipation was the emancipation of all by all; the Protestant Dissenter was freed with his Catholic fellow countryman; the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland relieved of the tithe burden the Protestant Nonconformist no less than the Catholic; the peasantry of Ulster reached the status of proprietorship at the same moment as the peasantry of the other provinces; government of county affairs was won for Ulster when it was won for the rest of Ireland. And all classes, creeds, and provinces have sustained each other in the course of the struggle and have shared the burdens that could not be removed, the casualties, the executions, the imprisonments, the deportations, the evictions, the starvation, and the emigration. The struggle is unequalled in history as a struggle by a united nation for national freedom.

Few nations have suffered such casualties and kept their identity; but Ireland is still Irish. The spirit of Ireland's nationality was long sustained by the Irish priesthood. O'Connell founding reading rooms in every village and hamlet to educate his people. Mangan, Davis, and Duffy, together with the other Young Irishmen, roused by their writings that pride of race which history bade the Irish remember and which serfdom made them forget. Douglas Hyde and his Gaelic League restored her speech to Ireland and taught her the glories of her ancient literature. Yeats, Synge, AE, and Colum wrote the songs and dramas of Irish Ireland. A national theater, a thing unknown in England, flourished in Ireland. Pearse and McDonagh in St. Enda's School molded the boyhood of Ireland in an Irish mold. Eoin MacNeill and others made the National University and Irish university. Plunkett and Russell led the Irish farmer to economic independence through cooperation. And a spirit of dignity, discipline, self-reliance, and thrift, an Irish spirit worthy of an Irish nation, was fostered and maintained among the people that a free Ireland might be an Irish Ireland.

Since the American Revolution roused men free of soul in every land Ireland in her history has consistently shown that she is a nation in the grip of a national ideal, the ideal of national freedom. In spite of recurrent slaughter, of a prison policy seldom excelled by Tsars, and of a depopulation which the Turk has not often rivaled and very rarely surpassed, Ireland has not wavered from her purpose to be free. There has been no frailty of spirit, no lack of energy, no want of determination, no dearth of daring, no shrinking from sacrifice in the affirmation of Ireland's right of national freedom. Now, at the end of 140 years of dauntless endeavor, when Ireland is more unconquerable, more Irish, more free in spirit, and more determined to be also free in

fact, is it likely that anything short of the full application of President Wilson's principles will satisfy the indomitable people of Ireland?

Circumstances prospered America, but not Ireland, and the legal, social, and intellectual censorship which England exerts over the English-speaking world has further tended to make America unmindful of the fact that the Irish issue in its Irish aspect has always been identical with what was once the American issue in its American aspect. America now comes mighty from the vindication of the rights of subject peoples to national liberty. But what will it profit the soul of America if it gain the freedom of the whole world and suffer the loss of the freedom of Ireland?

From 1782 to 1918 England has found it necessary on over 100 occasions to resort to coercion acts, suspensions of the habeas corpus act, martial law, and its analogues to enforce her authority in Ireland. In 1844, 1881, and 1916 England felt compelled to imprison the Irish leaders en masse in order to secure again for herself executive power in Ireland. In 1798, 1803, 1848, 1867, and 1916 England had to reconquer Ireland, and England now holds Ireland by virtue of an English army of occupation under a military governor. Will not these war and siege measures need to be continued until Ireland be free, a nation once again? And if out of the war a League of Nations be formed, a league that lacks the nation of Ireland, may not its first duty be to aid England in Ireland, as the Holy Alliance aided Turkey in Greece?

The people of Ireland have, in their isolation, set at defiance England, the possessor of an empire greater than that of ancient Rome, an empire to which 400,000,000 are subject, to which the riches of the universe are tribute, of which the world's largest navy is guard. When England fought against and when England fought alongside the United States; when England was allied with other nations of Europe against Napoleon; when England approved of that Alliance against freedom that was profanely styled Holy; when England with France and Piedmont fought Russia in the Crimea to save the unspeakable Turk; when England morally supported Prussia against France in the Franco-Prussian War; when England, as Ribot lately disclosed, entered an entente with Germany against France and Russia; when England allied herself with Japan against Russia; when England with France and Spain united against Germany at Algeciras; when England was associated with the victorious powers of the world—during all these mutations of the international hatreds and friendships of England, the people of Ireland were pursuing their immutable purpose of national freedom. If a League of Nations that lacks the nation of Ireland be now created, will not Ireland continue dauntlessly to pursue her purpose till a free Ireland be recognized as an essential member of that league or until the league itself shall become a thing of the past and be numbered in history among the fitly fleeting alliances of England?

While America has grown to greatness; while French empires and republics have arisen and passed away; while Belgium, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Serbia have been born as nations and have developed into powers; while Spanish, Chinese, Russian, Austrian, Turkish, Mexican, and Brazilian empires have fallen to pieces; while the German empire was being created, exalted, and destroyed; while Norway seceded from Sweden and Iceland from Denmark, Ireland was persistently fighting her fight for freedom. Will not Ireland continue to fight on till she be free or till the empire that is England be overtaken by the doom that is the fate of empires?

But if Ireland now be paid her earned share of that freedom which is being squandered on the promiscuous and chance acquaintances of war—freedom which Redmond and Kettle and "more than 500,000 Irishmen" from Ireland, Britain, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand have fought to win; if Ireland now be given her place in the family of nations; if Ireland's leaders be deemed worthy to appear alongside the Czecho-Slovaks and others at the peace conference; if Ireland now be enrolled as a nation in the League of Nations, would not America's purpose in the war acquire, what it still lacks, absolute and unqualified moral vindication? Would not the plain people of England be glad that at last amends had been made for an age-long national crime? Would not the founding nations of the world see in the nation of Ireland a promise and a sign that their life of liberty was established not upon the precarious tenure of the shifting interests of selfish Powers, but upon the firm basis of an inalienable, unalterable, and universal right? Would not the Irish pilgrims, now risen to greatness in every land, become disciples of the new world order, apostles of the new world freedom? Would not an Ireland, free to live her own life, to think her own thoughts, to write her own message to the world,

become again, as she once was, the center of Celtic culture, a nation of teachers and scholars, of messengers of peace and good will to all peoples, even unto the people of England?

#### THE IRISH ISSUE IN ITS "ULSTER" ASPECT.

"We may safely state," writes Van Tyne (*"Loyalists in the American Revolution."* p. 183), "that 50,000 soldiers, either regular or militia, were drawn into the service of Great Britain from her American sympathizers." These American Loyalists were drawn from the adherents of English families such as "the Carterets and the Penns, that had large financial interests in the country"; from those who "were in receipt of salaries as colonial officials"; from those "whose families had so long enjoyed the emoluments of office that they formed a class by themselves"; and from British military officers, pensioners, and their kin (Channing, *"History of the United States,"* Vol. III, p. 362).

The present-day Ulster Loyalists are composed of English and Anglo-Irish peers, who have large landed and financial interests in the country, many of whom, like Lord Londonderry, are descended from the men who sold the Irish Parliament to England; of those who, members of the vast Irish bureaucracy, are in receipt of salaries as Irish officials; of those whose families have so long enjoyed the emoluments of office that they form a class by themselves; of certain churchmen; and of British officers, pensioners, and their kin. Some idea of the Loyalism of the last class may be gathered from the fact that, even during the late war for the freedom of small nationalists, in the Sixteenth, the famous Irish division, although ninety-five per cent of the men were Nationalists, eighty-five per cent of the officers, and all above the lowest grades, were Ulsterites or other Unionists (T. P. O'Connor, House of Commons, March 7, 1917).

In 1776, the American Loyalists maintained that their families had been in possession of the land since its settlement; that they, as loyal subjects, "trembled at the thought of separation from England," which "was as necessary to America's safety as a parent to its infant children"; that they were prosperous because they were British; that "the country did not want independence"; that the whole agitation "was due to political adventurers of the worst type"; and that "the unfortunate land would be a scene of bloody discord for ages" if separated from England. "We were formed," said they "by England's laws and religion. We were clothed with her manufactures and protected by her fleets and her armies" (Van Tyne, *"The American Revolution,"* pp. 86 and 87).

To-day the Ulster Loyalists maintain that their families have been in possession of the land since the colonizations by the Stuarts and Cromwell; that they tremble at the thought of separation from England; that they are formed by England's laws and religion and are protected by her fleets and armies; that Ireland does not want independence; that the whole agitation is due to adventurers of the worst type; that the unfortunate land would be a scene of bloody discord for ages if separated from England; and that the English know better how to govern the Irish than the Irish do themselves. "By her sheer industry and her connection with England Ulster has developed into the richest of the Provinces (of Ireland). \* \* \* The people of Ulster love the people of England and will not be driven out of the United Kingdom." (Lord Londonderry, London Times, Apr. 6, 1914.)

Now, however, there is little dispute in Ireland as to the possession of the land. Even the peers who assert the contrary have been, or are in process of being, peacefully bought out by the Irish peasantry, Catholic and Protestant, Ulsterite and non-Ulsterite, with money lent under the terms of the land acts of 1903 and 1909. Moreover, Ulster is not exclusively Protestant, for it contains 690,816 Catholics (45.67 per cent) out of a population of 1,581,696; in five of the nine counties Catholics are in the majority and 17 of the 33 parliamentary representatives from Ulster are Nationalists. Besides, the Ulster Protestants are not wholly British; there is a considerable admixture of descendants of the Huguenots, who came to Ulster after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and, as the Parliamentary returns show, many of the Protestants are Nationalists. Further, Ulster is not the richest of the Provinces; the governmental ratable value of Leinster per head is 98 shilling; of Ulster only 72 shillings. The population of Ulster fell from 2,389,263 in 1861 to 1,581,696 in 1910; this fall affects every county; and the infantile mortality, the best index of civic institutions, is appalling in the stronghold of Loyalism, Belfast, where it chances to be higher in the Protestant than in the Catholic sections. Ulster, so

far from glorying in citizenship of the British Empire, led, even as late as 1910, in the emigration from Ireland. (Mr. John Redmond, London, Mar. 1, 1912.) Nevertheless, there are many prosperous Protestants in Ulster, and they are nearly all Loyalists.

When America was still a colony "Protestant dissenters, descendants of the men who had held Londonderry, went in great numbers to America, where they became the most irreconcilable of those who sought separation from England" (Ireland To-Day, p. 82, reprinted from London Times, 1913); and when America was fighting for freedom from England these irreconcilable separatists, the Protestant Ulsterites, produced American leaders like Gen. Richard Montgomery and Andrew Brown. The Irish Volunteers in 1782 assembled at Dungannon, in Ulster, and, consisting in goodly proportion of Protestant Ulsterites, extorted from England "perpetual" legislative independence for Ireland. In 1798, Protestant Ulsterites did some of the best fighting for the rebel cause. When the Ulster Protestants brotherhood with Britain was 140 years closer than it is to-day the chief question in Ulster was the independence of Ireland. Since those days there has been an apostolic succession of Ulster Protestants to lead the national cause in Ireland. But, nevertheless, in 1914 Lord Londonderry and kindred peers, with certain among the manifestly prosperous in Ulster, pledged themselves by covenant to resist partial legislative independence (home rule) for Ireland, set up an Ulster provisional government in Belfast, raised a volunteer corps to support that government, and thus asserted their right to rule Ireland on behalf of the Empire.

"I say here solemnly," announced one Ulster Loyalist who, in 1916 was rewarded with the position of Solicitor General of Ireland, "that the day England casts me off I will say, 'England! I will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh.'" (Belfast, May 23, 1913.) And another noteworthy Ulster Loyalist wrote in the Irish Churchman (November, 1913):

"It may not be known to the rank and file of Unionists that we have the offer of aid from a powerful Continental monarch, who, if Home Rule is forced on the Protestants of Ireland, is prepared to send an army sufficient to release England of any further trouble in Ireland by attaching it to his dominion, believing, as he does, that if our King breaks his coronation oath by signing the Home Rule bill, he will, by so doing, have forfeited his claim to rule Ireland. And should our King sign the Home Rule bill, the Protestants of Ireland will welcome this Continental deliverer as their forefathers under similar circumstances did once before."

So some of the prosperous Ulster Royalists seemed determined to maintain their sway in Ireland, even at the cost of transferring their loyalty from England.

To rouse the Ulster Royalists, when Home Rule appeared imminent, the Rt. Hon. Walter Long, M. P., came from London to exhort them "to defend themselves by their own right arms and with their own stout hearts" (Newtownards, September 26, 1912). Sir F. E. Smith, M. P., also came from London with the cry of "To your tents, O Israel!" Ballyclare, September 20, 1913). And Sir Edward Carson, with his lieutenant, Captain Craig, proclaimed that the Ulsterites "would fight to the last ditch, to the last man." The distinguished Ulster Protestant to whom was deputed the task of writing the life of Carson states:

"The young men of Ulster \* \* \* were not prepared to die in any ditch, first or last, in order to prevent the enactment of the Home Rule bill, and a reputable number of them were positively prepared to fight for its passage. Intimidation, ranging from threats of social ostracism to threats of dismissal from employment, were used to induce them to sign the covenant or join the Ulster Volunteers. There was talk of boycotting all Protestant Home Rulers, and there was an outburst of ill will among men who had previously been on good terms. There were shameful scenes of violence in the shipyards, where gangs of infuriated Orange louts attacked isolated Catholic or Protestant Home Rulers and subjected them to acts of outrage and brutality which can not be fitly described. ("Sir Edward Carson," by St. John G. Ervine, p. 56.) None of the business men of Ulster, old or young, had any taste for rebellion. They certainly had not the appetite for insurrection that their fathers had in 1798." (Loc. cit., p. 57.)

No matter how it was in Ulster, there was no doubt of the feeling in England, where the following covenant was widely circulated for signature:

"I, -----, shall hold myself justified in taking or supporting any action that may be effective to prevent it (the Home Rule act) being put into

operation, and more particularly to prevent the armed forces of the Crown being used to deprive the people of Ulster of their rights as citizens of the United Kingdom."

Subscriptions were sought in England to support any action that might be effective. Long lists of signers and subscribers appeared at frequent intervals in the London Times and Morning Post during the spring and summer of 1914. The lists comprised the names of Dukes like Bedford, of Earls like Denbigh, of Bishops like Boyd Carpenter, of Barons, Baronets, Knights, and lesser personages; of generals such as Roberts, of admirals such as Beresford, and of their subordinates in the military and naval services; of financiers and of others with industrial and political purpose, or with social ambition. Sir Edward Carson, who is not an Ulsterman, who has no discoverable relatives in Ulster, who never represented any Ulster constituency, and who was Solicitor General for England from 1900 to 1906, was chosen to head the Loyalists of Ulster. Under him was an Englishman, General Richardson. Another Englishman, Sir F. E. Smith, came over to act as galloper to Carson. Retired English officers drilled the Carson arm. General Sir Henry Wilson, who is now head of the British War Office, organized it. Generals French and Gough, in command of the British forces at Curragh, resigned, or threatened to resign, with the officers of their command, if called upon by the British Government to march against their fellow officers, Protestants and Britishers, of the Carson army. Berlin dispatches (March 31, 1914) informed the world that 50,000 rifles and 1,000,000 rounds of ammunition, "valued at £800,000," had been shipped from Hamburg on March 20. "It is assumed that the rifles are for Ulster," said the London Times of April 1. The *Fanny*, with the rifles aboard, was soon reported as passing through the Kiel Canal. On April 27 the Times was able to announce that the *Fanny*, having successfully eluded the entire and forewarned British navy, had peacefully landed its munitions in Ulster and peacefully departed. Among British politicians Lord Milner, Lord Robert Cecil, and all prominent Imperialists and Unionists signed the covenant. The people of Ulster, declared the Rt. Hon. Joynton Hicks, M. P., at Warrington, England, on December 6, 1913, had behind them the Unionist party. Behind them was the God of battles. In His name and their name, he said to the Prime Minister, "Let your armies and batteries fire. Fire if you dare. Fire and be damned." An English peer, Lord Willoughby de Broke (Norwich, November 13, 1913), publicly announced: "We are enlisting, enrolling, and arming a considerable force of volunteers who are going to proceed to Ulster to reinforce the ranks of Captain Craig and his brave men when the time comes."

With a pure and avowed passion to liberate from pending partial Irish rule their brothers in Ulster, their Protestant coreligionists, their fellow citizens in the United Kingdom, their coheirs in the British Empire, the imperial aristocracy, the imperial army, the imperial navy, and the imperial politicians of England, fomented in Ireland the act of revolution, and, in England, publicly aided and abetted it. And British "jurists, professors, editors, statesmen, warriors, and even scientists were prolific in finding reasons for the act before it was committed."

The British Imperialists who organized Carsonism had previously been busy in the Boer War, in the liberation of Protestant Britishers from the thrall of Protestant Burghers. According to the Englishman, Mr. H. G. Wells, "that sort of British nationalism that is subsidized by rich Tories, international financiers, and Ulster lawyers who are neither good Irish nor good English, where patriotism is really 'Britain for the British exploiter,' is "sham nationalism" (New Republic, November 23, 1918). A home rule Ireland would have been an Ireland without economic or judicial or political or any other independence, an Ireland more subject to Britain than is Canada or any of Britain's self-governing dominions. Hence the avowed concern for the religious, national, and imperial rights of the people of Ulster, which was used to sanctify British designs in Ireland, scarcely disguises the fact that a most unjust and pernicious enterprise was undertaken in England to support in Ireland a revolution without legitimate motive.

It may be recalled that in 1848 Bismarck, in the Reichstag, characterized the war of that year in Schleswig-Holstein, fomented by the German States, as "a most unjust, frivolous, and pernicious enterprise, undertaken to support a revolution without legitimate motive." But he subsequently planned his autocratic German Empire, and in the meantime Denmark's King had bestowed a democratic constitution on the Danish people. Bismarck in 1862 founded his first remonstrances to the Danish Government explicitly upon its too demo-



cratic character. At least one contemporary writer stated (Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher*, Vol. XIII, p. 428): "What Austria and Prussia seek at the hands of Denmark is not more regard to the Germanism of Schleswig-Holstein, they do not care much about that. But the anti-German ministry at Copenhagen is democratic; they want a reactionary one. That is the root of the matter." So the incentive of imperialism, together with the fear of an active democracy on his threshold, led Bismarck to say to himself, as he confessed at Friedrichsruhe, May 26, 1895, that Schleswig-Holstein must be German. Hazen ("Alsace-Lorraine under German Rule") and others have likewise shown that the military and profiteering need of German imperialism, together with the dread of French democracy of the French Republic, was the real and dominant incentive to the German lust for Alsace-Lorraine.

With Mr. Balfour's Ministry, which included Carson, Long, Bonar Law, and others who were later to become covenanting Carsonites, the British imperialists suffered defeat in 1906, owing to the aftermath of the Boer War and the attempt to introduce imperial preference. In their place a Liberal-Labor-Nationalist coalition appeared, which conferred old-age pensions and government insurance upon the working classes, reinforced the power of labor unions, began to reclaim the feudal estates of England for the people, and disestablished the State Church in Wales. To accomplish these reforms it was necessary to deprive the House of Lords of its summary veto over the popular will; which was safely accomplished. "For good or for evil," wrote in these days Sir F. E. Smith, the future Carson galloper, the future Attorney General of England, "we are governed by a democracy. The apparent tendency is to extend rather than to restrict the popular character of our government. This country will remain democratic unless the tendency \* \* \* be arrested by civil convulsions" ("*Rights of Citizenship*," p. 22). The imperialists failed by constitutional means to control this tendency in two successive elections within one year. They had lost the power to veto the will of the people in the House of Lords; but, making the home-rule bill both an occasion and an excuse, they provoked civil convulsions in Ireland, and conveyed that veto power safely to a chapel of ease in Ulster, where they created Carsonism to be its armed guard. They seduced the imperial army and navy so that arbitrary power opposed the enforcement of a statute of the democratic government of Britain. "The Government which gave the order \* \* \* to enforce the law in Ulster would run a great risk of being lynched in London," announced the leader of the Unionist party, Mr. Bonar Law (London, June 18, 1912), a hint to incite that mob and to terrorize its indicated victims. The Rt. Hon. Joynson Hicks, M. P., daring and damning, in the name of the God of battles and of the Unionist Party, the democratic government of England, disclosed the forces supporting his leader. And the armed volunteers raised in England by Lord Willoughby de Broke likewise effectively tended to restrict the popular character of government in England. The British incentives to Carsonism were not only the military and profiteering needs of imperialism in Ireland, but also the imperialist dread of democracy in England.

The annexationist maxim in the days of Frederick the Great was: "Seize first and plenty of lawyers will justify afterwards." But with the development of the "Christian Science" of war, war ceased to be the pursuit of an exclusive military caste and became instead a national function. Hence, to unify and strengthen the national will to war the German leaders, planning to rob their neighbors, organized appeals to the moral and sentimental feelings of the German people. Thus, before he proceeded to the conquest of Schleswig-Holstein, Bismarck created a popular claim to the coveted territory on the ground of colonization by Germans in the thirteenth century—fellow Germans in Schleswig-Holstein must be restored to the benefits of Teutonism and of German citizenship. The validity of this claim may be judged by the fact that on July 26, 1720, England had guaranteed perpetual possession of the disputed territory to Denmark, and France had done likewise in August 18, of the same year. Bismarck encouraged in Denmark the hope that England would intervene, a hope in which Denmark entered the war of 1864. As Lord Palmerston had no intention of intervening to save Denmark English public opinion on the Schleswig issue was made then by Bismarck as American public opinion on the Irish issue is made to-day by the Carsonites. Lord Palmerston was accurately reflecting the popular understanding in England when, as was his habit, he would say: "The question of Schleswig is so complicated and obscure that only three European statesmen have grasped it thoroughly. The first of these, Prince Albert, is unhappily dead; the second, a foreign politician,

has lost his reason; and the third is myself, but I have unfortunately forgotten it." When the time approached for the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine German "jurists, professors, editors, statesmen, warriors, and even scientists were prolific in finding reasons for the act before it was committed." (Hazen, loc. cit., p. 78). Ancient Allaman colonizations were recalled; the descendants of the original Teutonic colonists were identified as fellow Germans enslaved in France by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and marked down for liberation, for restoration to the religious, national, and prospective imperial rights of German citizens. And to silence any lingering scruple Treitschke taught: "The Germans know how to govern the Alsatians better than the Alsatians do themselves."

The complexity and obscurity of these German national issues recently vanished. A selectively enlightened world suddenly learned to appreciate at its true value this conventional plea of religious, national, and imperial rights of German colonists in coveted lands, and to see, at last, that there never was adequate reason to regard that plea as other than a most unjust, frivolous, and pernicious subterfuge of German Imperialism. The German Imperialist demonstrably had both in Schleswig-Holstein and in Alsace-Lorraine no purpose distinguishable from that which the British Imperialist still has in Ireland, and still makes complex and obscure by the stereotyped plea of religious, national, and imperial rights of British colonists in Ulster. The world to-day has just paid the price of refusal to see as they were the things of yesterday. Will the world to-morrow need likewise to pay the price of refusal to see as they are the things of to-day?

So long as England governs Ireland, the privileged, the parasitic, and the professional Loyalists will exercise their religious, national, and imperial right to administer, on behalf of the Empire, the satrapy of Ireland. So long as these Loyalists control in Ireland the avenues of educational, economic, and social preferment, they will find adherents among the ignorant and sophisticated, the needy and covetous, the servile and ambitious. The number and devotion of such adherents were revealed in the last great British recruiting campaign, in which all the arts of persuasion and menace, intensively applied for six months, brought forth from Belfast and all Ulster less than 10,000 Loyalists to save the Empire—that is, England—in the hour of its extremity. Fifty thousand American Loyalists opposed Washington, yet America became a great and harmonious nation. Two million German Loyalists from Masaryk's Ulster quota in the newly created nation of Czecho-Slovakia. Yet the negligible number of Irish Loyalists, in a world where the principle of majority rule is the foundation of all democracy, is allowed to impose for their Imperial masters an insuperable veto to "the government of Ireland by the consent of the governed."

In the negotiation of the Home Rule Act and in the deliberations of the Lloyd George convention, the National leaders of Ireland manifested for the religious and civil rights of the Loyalist minority a solicitude that transcends justice, and that may worthily serve as an example to the majority rulers of newly freed States. Outside of its incubation place in Ulster, antagonism of Catholic to Protestant, of Irishman to Irishman, does not exist in Ireland. Major William Redmond, M. P., in his last speech to the British House of Commons, before he went to his grave in Flanders, irrefutably proved the mutual esteem and affection that united the vast armies of Irish soldiers in the trenches of France. Dissension in Ireland is incomparably less than dissension in England, or France, or Italy; and as it was in America in 1776, it is in Ireland to-day the work of those who desire to divide and rule.

Washington characterized the American precursors of the Carson family as "abominable pests of society" and treated them as traitors. The Virginia House of Delegates stigmatized them as "vicious citizens against whom vigorous measures should be taken," and such measures were taken. Bismarck replied, when asked what he meant to do with his exalted analogue of Carson in Schleswig-Holstein: "It is the right of him who rears a cockerel to wring its neck," and that Carson was heard no more. The right of England to her Carson, no Irishman will care to contest.

As soon as the disrupting force of dual allegiance ceases to act in Ireland, as soon as Ireland is governed only by the consent of the governed, Ulsterite will vie with non-Ulsterite in salutary competition to end the present exploitation of the poor, the ignorant, the credulous, and the bigoted, to eradicate the existing impieties of the social system of Ireland, and to make all men equal before the law; that selfish rights may be displaced by national duties, and that the life of everyone may conform to the first and greatest of the laws

of the nation, the law that all Irishmen shall unite to fulfill the work of all, the work of the free people of Ireland in the federation of the peoples of the world.

#### THE IRISH ISSUE IN ITS INTERNATIONAL ASPECT.

When France under Napoleon menaced the freedom of the world, Alexander I of Russia held a position of detachment not unlike that which America's President held on December 18, 1916, while Germany under the latest Hohenzollern was attempting to overwhelm the Allied Powers. Alexander was loath to embroil Russia in a struggle between contending Powers, whose objects in the war, "as revealed by their statesmen, were virtually the same." But he was not unwilling to help to end all war. So in 1804 he laid down as a maxim to the English Minister, Pitt, that the peace of Europe would never be permanently established "until 'the internal order of every country' should be firmly found on 'a wise liberty as a barrier against the passions, the unbridled ambitions, or the madness which often drive out of their senses those in whom power is vested.'" He proposed that such States as wisely laid their foundations in liberty should, on the cessation of the war then raging, form a League of Nations, all the members of which would guarantee to each the possessions of each, in order that there might be no "future attempts to disturb the general tranquillity" (Phillips, "The Confederation of Europe," London, pp. 34-38). At that time Ireland had just passed through the rebellion of 1798, the sale of the Irish Parliament by Castlereagh to England (1800) and the Emmet rebellion of 1803. The Irish issue was the obvious test of England's conception of "wise liberty." But without either applying this test or seeking such an adequate guarantee of England's sincerity as the freedom of Ireland would have given him, Alexander entered the war and was a determining, if not the dominant, factor in the overthrow of Napoleon. When the cessation of hostilities came, although the servitude of Ireland remained as a symbol of oppression, a pledge against peace, the plain people everywhere "promised themselves an all-embracing reform of the political system of Europe, guarantees for peace; in one word the return of the Golden Age" (Gentz, "Congress of Vienna," quoted by Lipson, "Europe in the Nineteenth Century," p. 212). But "Great Britain was concerned only with an immediate and practical object, the ending of the war. It is clear that the English Minister meant that only France should not be allowed to disturb the future settlement of Europe by 'fresh projects of aggrandizement and ambition'" (Lipson, loc. cit., p. 212).

The Peace Congress met at Vienna, and with the nation broken, Castlereagh, acting for Great Britain, resulted in nothing but restorations; agreements between great Powers of little value for the future balance and preservation of the peace of Europe and quite arbitrary alterations in the possessions of the less important States. No act of higher nature, no great measure for public order or for universal good which might make up for Europe's long sufferings or reassure it as to the future was forthcoming. For the only guarantee of the sincerity of the participants was that given, perforce, by France in her exhaustion.

Since then the periodic cessation of war has come so often to the world that men have lost count of its comings. In every truce the hopeful have seen again the vision of Isaias, of a world united in peace; and in every fresh outbreak of war men have been lured to death by rulers who promised to pinion peace with their sword. The plain peoples of to-day in the Allied no less than in the American ranks were led to battle in order that the supremacy of right over might should be finally vindicated, that small nationalities might thereby be freed from the oppression of usurping Powers and that henceforth the free peoples of the world might unite in equality as members of a League of Nations, a League which would exercise common political sovereignty solely to the end that war should forever cease. They have won the war, but peace is yet to be won or lost. Dominating the Peace Conference are the Government of America and the Government of the British Empire. America's President before the war, at the acceptance of war, during the war, and since the cessation of hostilities has unequivocally stated his purpose to seek the final elimination of war. Plain peoples of the world believe in him, trust in him, but fear for him, lest, like Alexander I of Russia, his purpose be defeated, so that millions of lives must be squandered again to reach this same stage on the road to universal peace. And the basis of their fear is the symbol, Ireland.

The task of the conferring Governments is to restore and to make permanent the peaceful equilibrium of the world. In the past England has been the center of that equilibrium, which when disturbed by Spain, Holland, France, or Germany led Britain to war, and the disturbing elements were thereby reduced to balanced proportions, in leagues, alliances, ententes, and associations. England, conqueror of Africa, Palestine, Arabia, Persia, and the German colonies; and possessor of Ireland, Canada, Newfoundland, the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand, India, Ceylon, and Burmah, has now become empress of the world. Yet it is actually proposed that she grant self-determination to the world and forego her supremacy in favor of a league of which the component States, small and great, shall enjoy equality with her before the law of nations. In this league each nation will arm for domestic order only, and all will contribute to a common force that will guarantee the world's peace. The unit of State proposed for the league is called a nation. It is implicit in the idea of a unit that it should be indivisible, self-supporting, and able to sustain its share of the common burden. This unit has been further qualified as constituted by people "governed only by the consent of the governed."

Among the nations of the world the Irish are unsurpassed in the sum of their distinguishing characters of speech, race, customs, and traditions. They take historical precedence over all nations, except the nations of Greece and Italy; they inhabit a country unique in its geographical separateness from all others and greater in area than Greece, Serbia, Switzerland, Denmark, Holland, or Belgium. Ireland contains more people than Greece, Switzerland, Finland, Serbia, Denmark, or Norway. Unless the word nation has lost its traditional significance and has become a term of opprobrium conferred only upon peoples hitherto fighting in the service of the Central Empires, Ireland is a nation. The nationhood of Ireland is not dependent upon admission to any league of Powers. A league avowedly founded on nationhood undermines its own basis by the exclusion of Ireland; and its selective character makes of it merely a league of rulers, an entangling alliance to embroil peaceful members in all the wars on the seven seas.

In less than a century, Ireland, in addition to paying out of her own taxes the whole of her own cost, has been made to pay to the maintenance of the imperial army and navy of England a sum of £325,000,000 (\$1,725,000,000) (Mr. John Redmond, House of Commons, April 11, 1912.) Ireland's annual foreign trade, almost exclusively monopolized by England, exceeds that of Switzerland, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Portugal, Greece, or Serbia, and almost equals the foreign trade of Denmark (Stateman's Year Book, 1913). The exclusion of a great and historic nation, which is an indivisible State unit, which even under present conditions is able to pay the sum exacted to support the one Imperial navy of the world, and which has a yearly foreign trade of \$737,750,000, would weaken the stability of any aggregation of less compact States, increase the pro rata burden borne by the selected members for the support of the League, and deprive the League of a considerable part of the world's commerce.

The inclusion of Ireland as a nation would mean the loss to England of her most treasured possession. True, a war has just been fought in which English statesmen from Sir Edward Grey to Mr. Lloyd George have avowed their essential purpose to be the freedom of small nations. But in a war between empires a subject nation forms a part where each empire is vulnerable, and where the victor can conveniently disarticulate the vanquished. A subject nation, such as Czecho-Slovakia, that has the happiness to have been a component part of a defeated and dismembered empire, thereby receives at least titular freedom. A subject nation such as Ireland, that has the misfortune not to have been a component part of the conquered Empire, receives the treatment Ireland is now receiving. To give moral sanction to the freeing of Poles, Czecho-Slovaks, and other peoples lately subject to Germany or Austria, either the victorious Empire itself must free Ireland or else those other nations which associated themselves with England and were privileged to devote their lives, their honor, and all they were and had to the avowed purpose of the war, must decree the freedom of Ireland from England, as in 1831 the freedom of Belgium from Holland was decreed. In any event, the exclusion of Ireland must mean the exclusion of England, too, from a league of free peoples, of peoples "governed only by the consent of the governed." For an England dragging in chains the nation of Ireland "could not be trusted to keep faith within the League or to observe its covenants."

Besides moral sanction, a League of Nations will need the sanction of force.

"It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created, as a guarantor of

the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged in any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it." (January 22, 1917, "Message to the Senate.")

Force can be created, but it can not be thriftily or effectively applied except through the control of strategic bases. Concerning Ireland as a base, the British "Navy League"—"from which the German Navy League drew its impulse" (Mahan, "America's Interest in International Conditions," p. 171)—in a manifesto issued on January 10, 1918, stated:

"Before the great war the security of the Irish ports was wrongly regarded by the majority of the British people as a partisan British interest. The scales fell from our eyes after war broke out. A clear vision of the sacrifices of great and small nations fighting for freedom revealed the relation between Ireland and world trade. The strategic unity of the British Isles is a world problem, not merely a British interest. The trade of Europe with Canada, the United States, the West Indies, the Gulf of Mexico, the Panama Canal, the Caribbean Sea, all the Republics of South America, all the States of the Australian Commonwealth, New Zealand, China, Japan, Russia in the Pacific, India, Ceylon, and Africa are dependent directly upon the control of Irish seaports and the communications behind them. The British people before the war were mistaken in regarding Queenstown, Bantry Bay, Valencia, and Lough Swilly as merely British interests. Ireland has eighteen harbors, five of them first class. The best of them face the Atlantic Ocean, which floats the trade of the world. Friendly naval control of Irish harbors by free nations is essential to the freedom of the world. The ocean of the air, the surface of the sea, and underwater attack or defense will be controlled \* \* \* from Irish Western ports."

Even if the League create a navy so large that the burden of its support would strain the loyalty of the members, the strategic position of Japan with her ally England, acting from Ireland as a base, would enable these Powers together to defy any force that the League might bring against them. So long as Ireland is controlled by England the equilibrium of the world will remain centered on her, and a League of Nations will exist at her pleasure as an auxiliary to her purpose. Ireland a "Heligoland of the Atlantic, would menace the Atlantic coast of the American Continent from Punta Arenas in Patagonia to Quebec. Therefore naval control of Ireland by a naval representative of the free nations of the world is essential to the freedom of the world. Ireland is truly the key of the Atlantic, a fortress that guards the main trade routes of the world." (Loc cit., Jan. 10, 1918.)

A free Ireland, as is so eloquently and conclusively shown by the British Navy League, is a member essential to any League of Nations. It is, indeed, the one indispensable member, the member vital to the League, the member whose absence would leave undetermined only the moment of the League's disintegration, only the name of the Power which would next dare to disturb the possessor of Ireland, the center of the world's equilibrium. Without a free Ireland, the force of the League can not control the world; without such controlling force there can be no League of Nations; without a League of Nations there can be no permanent peace; and without permanent peace plain peoples have been privileged to dedicate their lives and possessions to what? The freedom of Ireland will be the sign of the freedom of the world from war. Is there any guarantee that this sign will be given to the world?

America, presuming that her associates at least "were as candid and straightforward as the momentous issues involved required," did not deem it necessary "to assure herself of the exact meaning of the note of" acceptance of England's Government before the armistice was signed. America likewise did not deem it necessary "in order that there might be no possibility of misunderstanding very solemnly to call the attention of" the Government of England "to the evident principle which runs through the whole American program." It is contained in the "Address to Congress" of January 8. "It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on terms of liberty and safety with one another whether they be strong or weak." Yet even when the armistice was being signed England was affirming, as throughout the war England has affirmed, and as she is to-day affirming by all the ways an autocratic empire can affirm it, her complete consciousness of the distinct national entity—Ireland. In the Peace Conference "the good faith of any discussion manifestly depends upon the consent" of his Britannic Majesty's Government "immediately to withdraw its forces everywhere from the in-

vaded territory" of Ireland; to liberate those whom by deportation and imprisonment England has recognized as the leaders of the Irish nation; and to permit the people of Ireland freely to determine by plebiscite the form of their government. No such guarantee of good faith was required from, or proffered by England; and she reserved the question of the freedom of the seas for discussion. As it was in 1814, so in 1918, "it is clear that Great Britain was concerned only with an immediate and practical object, the ending of the war." The English Minister meant that only Germany "should not be allowed to disturb the future settlement of Europe by fresh projects of aggrandizement and ambition."

Just as America enters the Peace Conference, Ireland entered the war without guarantees of good faith from England. Ireland had no shipping vainly seeking passage through forbidden seas. The only invader on Irish soil was England. And Ireland refused to be terrorized into war by fear of facing unaided the remote contingency of invasion by Germany. According to J. I. C. Clarke, 480,000 Irishmen fought and died for France between 1690 and 1792. The only entry on the other side of the ledger was the 280 Frenchmen lost by Humbert in the rebellion of 1798. Belgium in the 83 years of her existence had spared not a man, a dollar, or an audible articulate thought for the freedom of Ireland. If instead of Belgium and France, Ireland had been invaded, what help would Ireland have received from one or other of these countries? Neither interest nor gratitude nor yet kinship called for a single Irishman to fight in the war. No power could take, and no power has been able to take, a single Irish national to fight in France against his free will. But Irishmen thought that if Germany won Belgium would become what they "mourned in Ireland, a nation in chains." The fight seemed to be one of justice against might for the freedom of small nationalities. In such a fight "Ireland," said Professor T. M. Kettle, who fell at Guinchy, "had a duty not only to herself but to the world \* \* \* and whatever befell, the path taken must be the path of honor and justice." Concerning the number of Irishmen who took this vouched-for path of duty before America entered the war, Mr. John Redmond, M. P., wrote:

"From Ireland, according to the latest official statistics, 173,772 Irishmen are serving in the navy and army. \* \* \* Careful inquiries made through the churches in the North of England and in Scotland, and from other sources, show that, in addition, at least 150,000 sons of the Irish race, most of them born in Ireland, have joined the colors in Great Britain. It is a pathetic circumstance that these Irishmen in non-Irish regiments are forgotten except when their names appear in the casualty lists."

Adding to these the other young men of Ireland who, compelled by the economic conditions at home to seek elsewhere the means to exist, had emigrated to Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and who had enlisted in their adopted countries, Mr. Redmond estimated that there were "more than half a million Irishmen with the colors." ("Ireland on the Somme," London, 1917, pp. 3-8.) This number—500,000—represents about one-tenth of the Irish born outside this country—and they fought as volunteers. They took the indicated path to justice and went to war as Irish "International Nationalists," believing that the greater freedom would include the less. Their number exceeded the volunteers of any other land; proportionately they represented an army of 11,000,000 Americans. They went to their graves in France and Gallipoli believing that the Irish issue in its international aspect was an integral part of the new international aspect of all national issues, the right to government only by the consent of the governed. The Irish from their unassailable position of racial detachment and material disinterestedness were the only people in the world who could give the Allied cause moral vindication, and they gave it without requiring England to consent immediately to withdraw from Ireland, without fulfilling the world duty of obtaining a guarantee that the war would be waged in good faith.

Graciously acknowledging the belligerent value of this international aspect of the Irish issue, Lord Kitchener, the British War Lord, wrote to the Dublin Viceregal Conference (1915): "Ireland's performance has been magnificent." "England is unworthy to kiss the hem of Ireland's garment," wrote the English litterateur, Chesterton, moved by the spectacle of a subject nation voluntarily fighting for international freedom alongside its oppressor. "Whatever the future may have in store, the British people will never forget the generous blood of the sister nation which has been shed on so many hard-fought battle fields," said the London Daily Telegraph, March 18, 1916.

The war report of a subject nation in an imperial war is published when to publish it is useful and is altered or suppressed when necessary for the benefit of the Empire. The significance of the record may not have varied, but the accounting is in the hands of the imperial bookkeepers; there are no auditors; the report is published by those who compile it, for their own ends. Hence, although England's gratitude to the sister nation of Ireland was still ringing in men's ears—although, too, the survivors of the 500,000 Irish were still fighting abroad for international freedom, from the day (Easter, 1916) when the Irish felt compelled to wrest from England a guarantee of good faith, to fight in Ireland, too, in the name of right against might, in the name of the freedom of small nationalities, of the cause of international justice—the war report of the Irish was "Pigotted" in the press which England controlled throughout the world. And a grateful England shot as felons Pearse and his fellow poets and seers, condoned the murder of Sheehy Skeffington and others, imprisoned Countess Markiewicz, Professors MacNeill and De Valera, and a thousand more, hanged and libeled Casement, placed an army of occupation in Ireland, put the country under martial law, and gave full imperial recognition to the subject nation of Ireland before the silent but comprehending gaze of the suffering people of Belgium. Prior to the revolution of 1916 there had been lacking an international standard by which to test the solicitude of England for the freedom of small nationalities, a lack which the revolution supplied. Ireland measured England's avowed cause by that standard, and then unaided continued the fight for small nationalities on the Irish front, a front to which the recent armistice was not extended.

When America entered the war the Irish-born here felt that President Wilson had made holy again the Allied cause, had made the Irish issue once more an inalienable part of the international aspect of all national issues. They felt that it was the duty of everyone in America to fight for the freedom of all, the freedom for which America's President had pledged his word. Cobelligerent aliens who were called in the draft then possessed the right to claim exemption as aliens. The following percentages, computed from the Provost Marshal General's Report (Appendix 33a) show the fashion in which this duty was accepted by the nationals of the several cobelligerent aliens. The percentages of the alien cobelligerents called who waived exemption and were accepted are as follows:

Ireland.....	30.4	Serbia.....	21.7
Belgium.....	24.4	Canada.....	21.0
Scotland.....	24.2	France.....	19.4
England.....	22.5	Italy.....	16.8
Wales.....	22.0		

Alexander of Russia sought and received no guarantees from England, and experienced the Congress of Vienna. Ireland sought and received no guarantees from England, and is now the only nation in the civilized world that is still being actively subjugated by an imperial power. America sought and received no guarantees from England, and the consequences are yet unrevealed.

But certain dominant English statesmen now openly oppose the principles they formerly loudly professed or tacitly accepted and for which this war was fought. The British Coalition Government has issued an election address antagonistic to the Wilson principles of the new world order. The *Popolo Romano* (Dec. 4) publishes that Italy has joined England and France in an entente. The Allied Premiers have met, have secretly deliberated and publicly made announcement of their agreement. To at least this extent plain people are now forewarned. Analogous anticipatory secret deliberations, from which Russia was excluded, occurred at the end of the Russo-Turkish war in 1879, but it was only when the Peace Congress of Berlin was far advanced, and when by long preparatory maneuvering the way had been cleared for the announcement, that Europe was permitted to learn of the bargain made prior to the public Peace Congress, the bargain by which England in return for the long-coveted Island of Cyprus, guaranteed Turkey virtual integrity. Already tentative divisions of territory have been publicly and authoritatively suggested in the manner of the Congress of Vienna, in the manner of the Congress of Berlin, America has been party neither to these anticipatory deliberations nor to these munition mongers' suggestions. Will America's President be alone at the Peace Congress "speaking for friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty \* \* \* for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts

out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come upon the persons and homes they hold most dear"? He has gone to uphold the principles and policies for which he led Americans to spend their lives, their honor, and their possessions. The seclusion of serried cordons of armed guard may surround the conference; and its diplomacy may be shrouded by a censored press. But plain people everywhere will know how to judge the President's progress. There is one tested standard and only one by which the Allied cause may be judged, a standard by which every principle President Wilson has enunciated may be measured, a standard by which the present may be weighed with the past and the future may be estimated, the standard of Ireland. Covenants and the principles by which these are arrived at may or may not be open, and diplomacy may always remain frankly hidden from the public view. For, first, there can be no "absolute freedom of the seas outside of territorial waters, alike in peace and in war," without the freedom of Ireland; secondly, there can be no "removal, so far as is possible, of all economic barriers," without the freedom of Ireland; thirdly, there can be no "adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with safety," without the freedom of Ireland; fourthly, there can be no "general association of nations formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity in great and small States alike," without the freedom of Ireland; and lastly, there can be no moral application of "the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another whether they be strong or weak," without the freedom of Ireland. "Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand." Hence, by the standard of plain people, President Wilson must seek first the freedom of Ireland and all things else shall be added unto him.

Belgium a nation again is music to Irish ears. The free soil of France affords at least a grave worthy of the freemen of Ireland. The liberation of Poland gives gladness nowhere greater than in Ireland. Even from the waters of Babylon, Ireland welcomes the Jew to Zion. For Ireland, though fated to be the symbol and shield of empire, has faith in her freedom. She knows how to fight and pray, till the day of empires shall pass, till freedom shall come to the latest of nations, shall come even unto the last, when an Ireland free shall be given to the peoples as a sign that a message 2,000 years old, the message of peace and good-will on earth, has been heard and heeded by men.

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#### THE SINN FEIN PLATFORM.

The Sinn Fein Convention of 1917 met in Dublin in session from October 24-27. There were 1,700 delegates present from every county in Ireland. They reported 1,099 clubs of Sinn Fein, with a membership of 250,000.

The following platform was adopted:

"ARTICLE I. Whereas the people of Ireland never relinquished their claim to separate nationhood; and

"Whereas the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic at Easter, 1916, in the name of the Irish people, and continuing the fight made by previous generations, reasserted the inalienable right of the Irish nation to sovereign independence, and reaffirmed the determination of the Irish people to achieve it; and

"Whereas the proclamation of the Irish Republic at Easter, 1916, and the supreme courage and glorious sacrifices of the men who gave their lives to maintain it have united the people of Ireland under the flag of the Irish Republic: Be it

"Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of Irish people, in convention assembled, hereby declare the following to be the constitution of Sinn Fein:

"1. The name of the organization shall be Sinn Fein.

"2. Sinn Fein aims at securing international recognition of Ireland as an independent Irish Republic. Having achieved that status the Irish people may by referendum freely choose their own form of government.

"3. This object shall be attained through the Sinn Fein organization, which shall in the name of the Sovereign Irish people (a) deny the right and oppose



the will of the British Parliament, and the British Crown or any other foreign government to legislate for Ireland; (b) make use of any and every means available to render impotent the power of England to hold Ireland in subjection by military force or otherwise.

"4. Whereas no law, without the authority and consent of the Irish people is or ever can be binding on their conscience; therefore, in accordance with the resolution of Sinn Fein, adopted in the convention of 1915, a constituent assembly shall be convoked, comprising persons chosen by Irish constituencies as supreme national authority to speak and act in the name of the Irish people, and to devise and formulate measures for the welfare of the whole people of Ireland, such as

"(A) The introduction of a prospective system for Irish industries and commerce by combined action of the Irish councils, urban councils, rural councils, poor-law boards, harbor boards, and other bodies directly responsible to the Irish people;

"(B) The establishment and maintenance under the direction of the National Assembly or other authority approved by the people of Ireland, of an Irish consular service for the advancement of Irish commerce and Irish interests generally;

"(C) The reestablishment of an Irish mercantile marine to facilitate direct trading between Ireland and the countries of Continental Europe, America, Africa, and the Far East;

"(D) An industrial survey of Ireland and development of its mineral resources under the auspices of the National Assembly or other national authority approved by the people of Ireland;

"(E) The establishment of a national stock exchange;

"(F) The creation of a national civil service embracing all employees of county councils, rural councils, poor law boards, harbor boards, and other bodies responsible to the Irish people by the institution of a common, national qualifying examination and local competitive examinations, the latter at the discretion of the local bodies;

"(G) The establishment of Sinn Fein courts of arbitration for the speedy and satisfactory adjustment of disputes;

"(H) The development of transit by railroad and water, and of waste lands for the national benefit by a national authority approved by the people of Ireland;

"(I) The development of the Irish Sea fisheries by the National Assembly or other national authority approved by the people of Ireland;

"(J) The reform of education to render its basis national and industrial by the compulsory teaching of the Irish language, Irish history and Irish agriculture and manufacturing potentialities in a primary system, and, in addition, to elevate to a position of dominance in the university system Irish agriculture and economics;

"(K) The abolition of the poor-law system and the substitution in its stead of adequate out-door relief to the aged and infirm and employment of the able-bodied in the reclamation of waste lands, afforestation, and other national and reproductive works.

"ARTICLE 2. Where Irish resources are being developed or where industries exist Sinn Feiners should make it their business to secure that workers are paid living wages.

"ARTICLE 3. That equality of men and women in this organization shall be emphasized in all speeches and leaflets."

MR. GALLAGHER. I don't feel that I ought to impose on the committee any longer, and I want to thank them for the generous attention which they have accorded us. I have a list of the names of the people here who would like to put their remarks in the record.

MR. ROGERS. I dislike very much that any citizen of the United States should come here to Washington and should be compelled to go away without having expressed his views, even briefly. I don't know how other members feel about it, but my own impression is that we ought to stay here and let those gentlemen express their views.

Thereupon it was agreed that the committee should remain in session until 1 o'clock p. m., and as long thereafter as might be necessary to hear other speakers.

Rev. THOMAS J. HURTON, of Philadelphia, Pa. The gentleman (Mr. Fox) spoke of three Popes. I want to say that the Irish Nation will not be dictated to by anybody, whether it be a Pope or our friend from Connecticut. The people of Ireland are free men and will vote for their own form of government.

**STATEMENT OF HON. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM CONNECTICUT.**

Mr. LONERGAN. I just want to ask you a question, if you are willing to express yourselves on the point, and that is as to whether or not there is any doubt in the minds of any of you gentlemen as to the jurisdiction of your committee and of Congress to act on any one of the resolutions pending here.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that an examination?

Mr. LONERGAN. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any doubts?

Mr. LONERGAN. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. You are satisfied that the body that had the power to declare this war, fight it through to a successful conclusion, and who must approve any settlement made in France has the power at least to suggest to those commissioners?

Mr. LONERGAN. That is it exactly. And I haven't heard anyone touch upon the point.

The CHAIRMAN. I haven't heard any expressions of the committee members that they had any doubt of jurisdiction. We would be glad to hear you.

Mr. Fox. May I say, sir, that I haven't the slightest doubt that Congress has that right.

Mr. LONERGAN. I infer from the chairman's statement that the gentlemen of the committee have no doubt, and there isn't any use in arguing along that line.

Any measure that is pending in Congress of the importance such as the resolution which we are considering here I am sure attracts country-wide attention. I know of no Member of Congress who has received protests from his constituents as to action on the part of this committee or on the part of Congress on one of the pending resolutions; and that being so, we may infer that the American people want favorable action on the part of this committee and on the part of Congress on one of them, whichever one you gentlemen agree upon. I hope that early and favorable action will be taken. My limited time does not permit of extended remarks. The representatives of the American people merely ask the representatives of our Nation at the peace conference to take up the question of the self-determination of Ireland.

**STATEMENT OF MR. JOHN P. LEAHY, OF ST. LOUIS, MO.**

Mr. LEAHY. I represent a large number of men of Irish birth and blood in St. Louis of all professions and occupations and, in addition to that, some of the labor unions, and we have come here to ask

you to pass this resolution. I feel there is one thought I should impress upon you—that the present British Government has, by its present spokesman, admitted its inability to settle this question. That is because they fail to apply the only rule by which it can be settled—the rule and principle which guide the deliberations of the Government we belong to, namely, majority rule. We ask them to give the Irish people the right to apply the rule of the majority to determine the form of government under which they desire to live. I can speak for myself and, I think, for every man that is here and for every man of our race in America, when that question is submitted to the Irish people and fairly determined by them, we shall accept the decision they make in the matter as the final decision on the Irish question.

**STATEMENT OF PROF. JOSEPH DUNN, OF THE CATHOLIC  
UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.**

Prof. DUNN. I speak for the Catholic University of America, of the faculty of which I am a member. I wish to read, for insertion in the record, a letter from Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the university, to the President on this question, as follows:

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA,  
*Washington, D. C., November 30, 1918.*

HON. WOODROW WILSON,  
*President of the United States.*

YOUR EXCELLENCY: You are about to depart for Europe, to be at the Peace Conference what you were during the trying days of war, the spokesman and the interpreter of the lovers of liberty in every land. The burden now rests upon you of giving practical application to the principles of justice and fair dealing among nations which, as expounded in your many noble utterances, have made our country more than ever in its history the symbol of hope to all oppressed nations. Wherefore, we, the rector and faculties of the Catholic University of America, take this opportunity to address you and to ask respectfully that in this historic gathering you be the spokesman for the immemorial national rights of Ireland. Your influence will certainly go far toward a final acknowledgment of the rightful claims of Ireland to that place among the nations of the earth from which she has so long and so unjustly been excluded. We are convinced that any settlement of the great political issues now involved which does not satisfy the national claims of Ireland will not be conducive to a secure and lasting peace. You have said, "No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed." Disregard of the rights of small nations has aroused a spirit of righteous indignation which can never be appeased as long as any nation holds another in subjection. Subjection and democracy are incompatible. In the new order, "national aspirations must be respected; peoples may now be dominated and governed only by their own consent. 'Self-determination' is not a mere phrase."

In keeping with these words of truth, we hold that the right of Ireland to "self-determination" is immeasurably stronger than that of any nation for which you have become the advocate. Moreover, Ireland's claims are a hundredfold reinforced by her centuries of brave, though unavailing, struggle against foreign domination, tyranny, and autocracy. The manner in which the national rights of Ireland will be handled at the Peace Conference is a matter of deep concern to many millions of people throughout the world, and it is no exaggeration to say that the purpose of the United States in entering the war, namely, to secure a world-wide and lasting peace, will surely be nullified if a large and influential body of protest remains everywhere as a potent source of national friction and animosity.

That such unhappy feelings may not remain to hinder and embitter the work of the world's political, social, and economic reconstruction, we ask you to use your great influence at the Peace Conference to the end that the people of

Ireland be permitted to determine for themselves through a free and fair plebiscite the form of government under which they wish to live.

With most cordial sentiment of respect and esteem, I remain, very sincerely yours,

Rt. Rev. THOMAS J. SHAHAN,  
*Rector of the Catholic University of America.*

Dr. DUNN. Although this letter was presented to the President on the opening day of the present session of Congress, and although the President was overwhelmed with cares and burdens on that last day before he sailed, he not only acknowledged receipt of the bishop's letter, but replied in such a sympathetic tone as would make interesting reading for the members of this honorable committee.

Mr. LYNCH. In view of the fact that the name of Justice Victor J. Dowling has been mentioned here to-day, I wish to state that he signed the petition sent to President Wilson by the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of New York, of which he is president, urging self-determination for Ireland.

#### STATEMENT OF REV. PATRICK A. SHARKEY, OF SYRACUSE.

Rev. Father SHARKEY. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, with regard to the Irish in the Revolutionary Army, a large proportion of them were undoubtedly Protestant, and I never heard an Irishman claim or suggest the contrary. Protestants—especially Presbyterians—as well as Catholics, came to America to escape English misrule in Ireland. They were the compatriots of the Protestants who assembled in the Dungannon Convention, of those who filled the ranks of Grattan's Irish Volunteers in 1782 and of Tone's "United Irishmen" in 1798.

Thomas Davis, the Irish Protestant poet and patriot, wrote:

Then start not Irish-born man,  
If you're to Ireland true,  
We heed not race, nor creed, nor clan,  
We're hearts and hands for you.

It is in this spirit we think of the Irish in the Revolutionary Army—they were true to Ireland's ideals and true to America.

At the same time we must note that the Muster Roll of the Revolutionary Army shows a very large percentage of men with Irish Catholic names, many of whom had lost the faith owing to the fact that in most parts of the country they had no Catholic clergymen to minister to them and keep it alive, and then there were the religious disabilities existing outside of Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen, it is impossible to deal with the contribution of the Irish race to American greatness in the short time at my disposal, and I commend to your attention on this question the work written by Michael J. O'Brien, historiographer of the American-Irish Historical Society, entitled "A Hidden Phase of American History," just published by the Devin Adair Co., of New York.

#### STATEMENT OF GEORGE HOLDEN TINKHAM, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. TINKHAM. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am in favor of this committee reporting to the House of Representatives one of the resolutions which it has before it. The one I prefer

is the one introduced by the honorable Representative from Illinois, Mr. Gallagher, because of its simplicity and directness.

In 1775 America began the contest to establish for all time the only fundamental truth upon which government can rest and by which a state can endure, that the consent of the governed is necessary for all law and order. That principle was established by the American Revolution and is the first and most fundamental of American ideals.

America engaged in the great world war for that principle, so it was declared by our President, and so it was fought by America.

Justice for all peoples and all countries, particularly the small countries, was his assertion. No peace but one of justice, he said, could be a lasting peace. Our President, who is our representative in France at this moment, has said that self-determination should be the rule to govern the establishment of states and nations under any peace to which America should assent. Therefore, it is fit and proper that the Congress should pass a resolution expressing its opinion that Ireland should be treated with equal justice and upon the same principles as other nationalities in the coming peace treaties. Ireland repeatedly has asserted her nationality and has demanded self-determination. When the world is to be governed by free peoples the claim of Ireland can not be ignored.

Let us again at this important moment when the political world is being made anew reassert our belief in the fundamental American principle of Government, that the consent of the governed alone is the test for government and for justice, and that no country, race, or nationality, including Ireland, be excluded from its application.

The following matter was submitted for insertion in the record:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, December 19, 1918.

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,  
*Chairman Foreign Affairs Committee,*  
*House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: Owing to my absence from Washington I was unable to appear at the hearings on House joint resolution 357 introduced by Mr. Gallagher, requesting the Representatives of the United States to the international peace conference to present to the said conference the right of Ireland to self-determination, predicated on the principle laid down by the President in his several addresses to the Congress of the United States.

I sent you a telegram from New York which I would like to have inserted in the hearings as well as a statement that I inclose.

Sincerely, yours,

JOHN I. NOLAN,  
*Fifth District of California.*

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, December 19, 1918.

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,  
*Chairman Foreign Affairs Committee,*  
*House of Representatives.*

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: I was unavoidably absent from the city last week when the Committee on Foreign Affairs considered House joint resolution 357, introduced by Mr. Gallagher of Illinois, requesting the commissioners of the United States of America to the international peace conference to present to the said conference the right of Ireland to freedom, independence, and self-determination.

During my recent visit to San Francisco I found a very strong sentiment existing among all classes of people in the city that President Wilson's declaration regarding self-determination by the smaller nations of the world as to the

form of government under which they should live should apply to the Irish nation. I strongly favor this position and believe the Congress of the United States should pass the Gallagher resolution at the earliest opportunity, so that our conferees might know the position of the American people through their chosen representatives in Congress.

I have been asked to represent a number of organizations in San Francisco favoring the Gallagher resolution, among these being the San Francisco Labor Council, the United Irish Societies of San Francisco, a number of organization divisions of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Golden Gate Aerie, No. 61, Fraternal Order of Eagles, executive board of the United Brewery Workmen of California, the San Francisco Council, Young Men's Institute, the Brotherhood of Teamsters, the California State Federation of Labor, and a number of other societies, representing in the aggregate several hundred thousand people, all united in one thought, that justice can not prevail unless President Wilson's ideas of self-determination of the form of government under which the smaller nations shall live be applied to the case of Ireland.

In this connection I would like to have incorporated an editorial from the New York American under date of Wednesday, December 11.

I trust that the committee will see its way clear to report the resolution immediately with a favorable recommendation, so that it may pass the House and Senate in time to be transmitted to our representatives.

Sincerely, yours,

JOHN I. NOLAN,  
*Fifth District of California.*

#### IRELAND SHOULD HAVE RIGHT TO GOVERN ITSELF.

The British Labor Party will not carry this coming election. Neither does the British Labor Party expect to carry this coming election.

But every intelligent man in Great Britain, no matter what his sympathies may be, knows very well that the British Labor Party will sooner or later have a majority in Parliament.

One of the demands of the British Labor Party is that the people of Ireland shall have the right of self-determination.

That is to say, if the Irish people so decide by a referendum, Ireland can remain a constituent part of the British Empire or it can be independent.

As a matter of fact, men not of Irish blood, and therefore not subject to prejudice, but who do sympathize with the Irish in their desire to govern themselves, mostly believe that the ideal solution of the whole Irish question lies in the federation of the British Empire exactly as our own 48 States are federated, each State retaining its right of local self-government and all being bound together in a willing and mutual patriotic devotion to the Federal Government which speaks for them in international matters.

In other words, many students and thinkers who have at heart the welfare of the Irish people believe that the best interests of Ireland would be served by an agreement which would guarantee the conduct of Irish affairs by the Irish people and which would also unite them with the peoples of England, Scotland, Wales, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa in a federated nation constructed upon the same lines upon which the Republic of the United States is constructed.

Under such conditions the people of Ulster would have their minority rights in the federal parliament, and the people of the rest of Ireland would have their majority rights in the federal parliament, and both would have their rights in the local Irish parliament.

We are well aware that such a proposal will not appeal either to the extremists among the Catholic Irishmen or the extremists among the Protestant Irishmen.

But we are quite sure that the one lesson which history repeats over and over again is that all relations, both of individuals and of peoples, are in the long run a matter of compromise, and that these compromises are invariably found to be in the long run better settlements than the settlements by either class of extremists.

We think that Ireland should be entirely free to govern itself.

We believe that in all Irish affairs and in all matters pertaining to Ireland the Irish people should be the sole judges of what ought to be done.

We think that neither Englishmen nor Scotchmen nor Welshmen should have anything more to say about the conduct of purely Irish affairs than they should have to say about the conduct of affairs in New York or in California.

Which is to say that we believe in the right of the Irish people to govern themselves by their own consent.

Yet, on the other hand, we do believe that careful thinking will show to every reasonable person that a small people like the Irish, dwelling on an island which could be easily blockaded by a hostile fleet and which is open to attack either from the neighboring island of Great Britain or from the neighboring Continent of Europe, would be defenseless against one of the greater powers and should, as a matter of wise precaution, link itself with a maritime empire that has just so signally displayed its ability to resist and to destroy the greatest military power which Europe has seen since the star of Napoleon set in the night of Waterloo.

President Wilson's proclaimed ideals of international democracy seem to justify the hope that he inclines in his program to the rightful freedom of the Irish people.

And now that the President is backed up by the liberal and farsighted support of the British Labor Party, he may be able to achieve the freedom of Ireland if he makes that one of his specific demands.

We trust that the President will do that very thing.

We trust that when he appears at the peace conference to maintain the doctrine of self-determination and the right of every people, great or small, to govern itself that Ireland will be included among the small nations whose democratic safety the President has pledged himself to safeguard.

#### **STATEMENT OF MR. HUGH MONTAGUE, OF PASSAIC, N. J.**

MR. MONTAGUE. I represent the Employers' Federation of Northern New Jersey, and, as the father of two boys in our Army, add my word to that of my fellow citizens here in urging you to see to it that Ireland shall be granted international justice and allowed to choose her own form of government in her own way.

#### **STATEMENT OF MR. T. J. DOYLE, OF ST. PAUL, MINN.**

MR. DOYLE. Since coming here, I have been obliged to change the remarks that I intended to make to this committee, and it was due solely to that infamous slander cast upon our people this morning. I am president of the Ancient Order of Hibernians Life Insurance Society in Minnesota. Immediately after war was declared, I called the directors of that association together for the purpose of increasing the rate during war time, so that no member who had insurance in that institution and went to war should have cause to feel that they were going to lose the insurance, because that was one of the conditions in our constitution.

We changed that condition so that every man who would go to the war could maintain his policy. We appeal to you to-day to stand by the resolution that is before you, and I will go back home to the North Star State and be satisfied the Congressmen here in Washington are true to the Declaration of Independence.

#### **STATEMENT OF MR. P. J. REYNOLDS, STATE PRESIDENT OF THE ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS, OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.**

MR. REYNOLDS. I did not intend to address your honorable body when I came down here. I don't practice talking very much. I reserve that more for home consumption. I am a worker more than a talker. I have been a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians

46 consecutive years. During that time I have held a considerable number of offices in building up the organization in England and the United States, and I must say that in all of my years of experience I never knew the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Illinois or in any other State of the Union, or elsewhere, to be anything else but American and Irish, and since the declaration of war I know positively that there has not been a resolution passed at any of its principal gatherings that would tend to lead anybody to believe that they were pro-German.

I deny in toto the aspersions made by the gentleman from Connecticut on the loyalty of the Ancient Order, and may state that my entire family are fighting for the Stars and Stripes, my only boys, and I only wish that I had more of them to send to defend the flag that stood and stands for the freedom of all nations.

#### **STATEMENT OF MR. BERNARD LYONS, REPRESENTING THE BUILDING TRADES OF NEW YORK.**

Mr. LYONS. I represent the building trades of New York, a portion of that section of labor we heard from yesterday through Mr. Rock. I wish to say this, that the labor world believes that nations should no longer settle disputes by the old method of brute force; that reason is the best way to settle all affairs. The best proof of that is the record of the English labor party. They have gone on record as favoring self-determination for the Irish people.

#### **STATEMENT OF HON. P. J. O'DONOHUE, OF MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.**

Mr. O'DONOHUE. I come before you this morning, from Minneapolis, to convey the opinion expressed in two mass meetings held in Minnesota recently. One of them a week ago last Friday night, and the other one last Monday night in Minneapolis. As I said before, they were representative meetings, not of any particular society, but mass meetings of citizens, where all classes and all grades appeared together and spoke on the platform in favor of independence for Ireland to decide for herself her own form of government. I am glad to have the opportunity to present to you the same view this morning, and to say that we are in hearty accord with all that has been said in favor of the resolution here. We are all entirely for freedom in all the West. We don't think it is right to leave out any particular people. We believe that the spirit of Jefferson and the spirit of the other American patriots is large enough to include all the people in the world.

#### **STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN J. CURLEY, OF BOSTON, MASS.**

Mr. CURLEY. We held an Irish meeting at Symphony Hall, Boston, last Monday night, attended by 15,000 people. The following resolution, which was sent to the President, was unanimously passed:

Whereas the United States Government has been an important factor in the successful issue of this world-wide war; and

Whereas our President, the Hon. Woodrow Wilson, as commander in chief of the United States forces, has declared that our dominating object in entering the war has been the principle of self-determination for all nations, whether great or small; and



Whereas the Irish nation antedates any of the present European nations, and has the closest affiliations with the United States;

Therefore, we, the undersigned, as American citizens, in accordance with our constitutional rights, respectfully petition the President to use the unselfish position of the United States to the end that the claims of Ireland to be a free and independent nation in the fellowship of nations shall be acknowledged by the United States; and the place of Ireland in whatsoever congress may be gathered, after the war, to agree on the future of the peoples, may be assured by the influence of the United States in such measure that Ireland may stand on equal condition with Poland, with Serbia, with Belgium, and with all the wronged nations of the world.

I would say in regard to this petition that it was signed by his eminence, William Cardinal O'Connell, archbishop of Boston, and by 300 of the priests of Boston.

One of the big issues before the world to-day is the independence of Ireland.

There is no thought of Government other than that determined by the Irish people themselves by majority of their own electorate, which will give Ireland representation as a nation.

If world-wide peace is to be assured under a league of nations, which now appears to be the underlying mission of our great President overseas, then there must be no government under force, such as rules in Ireland to-day under the present sovereignty of Great Britain.

The Irish people are to-day united for stable government under their own franchise, for self-determination before the world, and will gladly accept the same assurance of nationality that will be given Serbia, the Czecho-Slovaks, and other smaller nations.

The league of nations must protect and sustain all nationalities of the world. The intent and purpose of such a league of nations is the placing of an end for all times of the sovereignty of an empire over other peoples by forms of government against which sovereignty the people of a nation protest, as is evidenced in Ireland to-day.

The purpose of the peace conference at Versailles is to perpetuate free and untrammelled government for all people and for all times, and the pleas of the people of Ireland, voiced for over 700 years, must be heard at this time as among the first consideration of world-wide peace, self-determination for the people of Ireland, and opportunity to govern themselves.

It is idle to assume that there can be a league of nations that will protect the smaller nations unless forms of government are assured, such as a majority of the voters of the smaller nations desire, and of the 4,300,000 population of Ireland, to-day fully 85 per cent are determined for the policy of self-determination.

The security, the well being of nations to-day, and for the future can not be determined by the force of arms—it must rest upon the free and untrammelled franchise for all men qualified as voters.

President Wilson upon September 27, 1918, declared:

Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of people over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?

The appeal of the people of Ireland to-day is against the further domination of Great Britain by "the right of force." If the freedom of the people of the United States to govern themselves in 1776 was their inherent right, the people of Ireland should enjoy the same inherent right to-day.

The government—the voice of the people to govern themselves, must be the watchword for the smaller nations of the future, and free government for Ireland is to-day the demand of its people.

The power of sovereignty by might has been overthrown in Germany at frightful cost, it must be relinquished by Great Britain as a matter of international necessity.

There can be no league of nations unless the greater nations at the peace table offer some voluntary sacrifices and relinquishments of power, and the right of Ireland to govern herself should be the first relinquishment of Great Britain.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Chairman, I have here a petition handed me by Alderman Thomas J. Ahern, of Chicago, who is present at the hearing and desires me to have it made a part of the record. The petition is as follows:

A PETITION FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR IRELAND.

We, the members of the United Irish Societies of Chicago, beg that in consideration of what Ireland has done for our country from the time of the Declaration of Independence, throughout the struggling period of our national life, and of what born Irishmen naturalized in our country, and their descendants, have done, are doing, and will continue to do for its defense and upbuilding, your committee and the Congress of the United States take steps to see that Ireland be given back her sovereignty and the right to determine for herself what form of government she wishes.

THOMAS J. AHERN, *President*.  
JOHN D. ROCHE, *Treasurer*.

Also the following resolutions:

HON. THOMAS GALLAGHER, M. C.,  
*Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: At the regular quarterly meeting of the St. Patrick's Commercial Academy Alumni, held on December 9, the following resolutions were proposed by the Hon. Robert M. Sweitzer, seconded by Judge Hugh A. Kerns, and passed unanimously:

Whereas, Ireland is now being held down by military force; and  
Whereas, the allies, as well as the United States, have declared that they stand for self-determination for all small nations;

*Resolved*, That the St. Patrick's Commercial Academy Alumni declare that the Irish nation should be permitted to choose, by popular vote, the government for which it has so long struggled; and that President Wilson and the other American delegates to the peace conference should stand firm for self-determination for Ireland.

*Resolved, further*, That as a great effort is now being made all over the United States by many hundreds of thousands of freedom-loving Americans, to bring about self-determination for Ireland, they pledge themselves to neglect no opportunity, while the peace conference is in session, to aid in every way they can to bring to this worthy agitation the success it deserves.

It is the desire of the alumni named above that these resolutions be delivered to Hon. Joseph P. Tumulty for transmission to the President of the United States. Will you, if you please, perform this office for them?

Yours, very truly,

PETER J. MCKENNA, *Secretary*.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at a regular meeting of Waldron-Murphy Camp No. 29, Department of Illinois, United Spanish War Veterans, held Wednesday, December 11, 1918, with instructions that they be presented to the self-determination mass meeting, at First Regiment Armory, Sunday, December 15:

Whereas the United States of America entered the European war for no other purpose than to make possible and permanent the right of each people to govern themselves, without interference from others; and

Whereas the President of the United States has declared that the world must be made safe for democracy; and

Whereas in support of the policy of our President it is the duty of all liberty-loving citizens of this free Nation to aid him to their fullest extent in securing for the smaller nations of the world the right of freedom and independence: Therefore be it

*Resolved*, That Waldron-Murphy Camp, No. 29, of Spanish War Veterans, composed of men of all creeds, who volunteered their lives to secure liberty and self-determination for the oppressed people of Cuba, do earnestly urge the people of this Nation to instruct their representatives to the peace conference to make every effort to secure for the Irish people the same right of self-determination of government for which American soldiers have fought and died: And be it further

*Resolved*, That we, as a patriotic organization, do heartily approve of the object of this mass meeting, to the end that the sacrifices made by the people of this Nation in the recent conflict shall not have been made in vain.

P. J. SKERRETT,

*Chairman,*

D. S. MUSSER,

E. V. CLEMENT,

T. R. QUINLAN,

JOHN M. MCGUIRE,

*Committee on Resolutions.*

MR. LYNCH. Mr. Chairman, I have here a letter from Hon. Edward J. Gavegan, justice of the supreme court, New York, addressed to you, that I desire to have placed in the record.

DECEMBER 13, 1918.

HON. HENRY D. FLOOD,

*Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations,*

*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR: Mr. Lloyd George recognizes the necessity of settling the Irish question to conciliate America. President Wilson during the war urged settlement thereof to improve American morale. The President's self-determination formula is absolute and all inclusive. Self-determination for Ireland will be a fortunate thing not only for that country but also for the national spirit of our own country as a whole, for then it can be no longer said of yourself, whose family has been here for so many generations, and myself, whose family is now here in the fifth generation, and of upward of 20,000,000 of other Americans of the same stock, that they are the offspring of a subject race. I do not mean to be offensive, but that wrangling thought is always with me, and it has seemed to me even during the intense anxieties of the war that favorable action by Congress on the resolution now before you not only could have been taken with the utmost propriety, but that it would have saved much bitterness of spirit between great groups of our population where otherwise harmony and mutual respect obtained. Now, that all pretext of common danger is passed, it does not seem possible to me that the objection as to propriety can in good faith and in good conscience be raised. Finally, some of us know and all of us believe that the President, whatever his former attitude was by reason of exigencies now gone by, would welcome at this time the encouraging support of the legislative branch of our Government in promulgating his great principle of self-determination.

I respectfully urge favorable action by your committee on the bill which is before you on the question of self-determination for Ireland.

Very truly, yours,

EDWARD J. GAVEGAN.

MR. LYNCH. Mr. Chairman, I also have a telegram from Hon. John P. Grace, ex-mayor of Charleston, S. C., that I wish inserted. It reads as follows:

I am satisfied that if, by a plebiscite, the question of Irish freedom could be left to a vote in South Carolina, the answer in its favor would be overwhelming. Not for home rule or for autonomy or for any of the makeshifts proposed from time to time, but for absolute independence.

JOHN P. GRACE.

**STATEMENT OF MR. JOHN O'DEA, OF PHILADELPHIA, PA., NATIONAL CHAIRMAN OF THE HISTORY COMMITTEE, ANCIENT ORDER OF HIBERNIANS.**

Mr. O'DEA. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, this I regard as a most momentous occasion. The peace conference will undoubtedly be the most influential deliberative body of all time. It will give to the world a new Declaration of Independence. That of 1776 in Philadelphia affected only the American Nation, while that of 1919 in Versailles will, on the authority of our great President, affect all the nations of the earth.

In requesting your honorable body to declare in favor of Ireland's demand for freedom I take the liberty of pointing to the fact that her efforts to reestablish her sovereignty have not been surpassed by any nation in Europe.

The claim of Ireland to self-determination is not of yesterday. Before the Saxons landed in England the Irish had a parliament, laws, and political institutions.

The luminous genius of the Irish race emitted light amid the gloom of ignorance that once enshrouded the whole continent of Europe; students from a dozen nations lit their lamps at the fires of Irish learning; the wisdom of the Irish sages penetrated the camps of barbaric chieftains, and kings and peasants listened, inspired by the beauty and sublimity of Irish conceptions.

The Catholic Confederation of 1642 enacted at the Parliament of Kilkenny the first laws guaranteeing religious liberty, and that arrest and imprisonment without warrant of law was contrary to Irish custom—a custom written in Irish statutes centuries before Magna Charta. It is worthy of notice, especially since up to the present the people of Ireland have been denied the right of self-determination, that the first and most authoritative utterance on the equality of man was published by William Molyneux in Dublin in 1696, many years before Rousseau and Thomas Jefferson were born. That great Irishman is truly the father of modern democracy, so far as it pertains to that intellectual freedom which aims to throw off political, social, and military thralldom.

This battle for the right of self-determination in Ireland is not being waged on religious grounds. Catholic England having been no less harsh in its treatment of the weaker nation than Protestant England; for, from the massacre at Waterford at the time of the invasion of Strongbow, down to this very hour, England has made a record in Ireland that indeed is unparalleled in its cruelty.

Ireland had control of her own affairs for 18 years—1782 to 1800. These were years of unexampled prosperity, though representation in Parliament was drawn from only 20 per cent of the population. After this Parliament had been "packed" with English "placemen" it was bribed to betray Ireland and effect a union with England, the price paid each traitor for his perfidy approximating \$40,000.

**HOW THE UNION WAS CARRIED.**

Do not unite with us, sir; it would be the union of the shark with his prey; we should unite with you only to destroy you. (Dr. Samuel Johnson.)

If it must be called a union, it is the union of a shark with his prey; the spoiler swallows up his victim and they become one and inseparable. Thus has

Great Britain swallowed up the parliament, the constitution, the independence of Ireland. (Lord Byron.)

Such an act (union) in the parliament, without the authority of the people, is a breach of trust. Parliament is not the proprietor but the trustee, and the people the proprietor, not the property. Parliament is called to make laws, not to elect lawmakers; assembled to exercise the functions of parliament, not to substitute another parliament for the discharge of its own duty. (Grattan.)

The collective body of the people delegate, but do not give up trust, but do not alienate their right and power. There is something which a parliament can not do—a parliament can not annul the constitution. The legislature is a supreme but not an arbitrary power. (Bolingbroke.)

It (union) would be the emigration of every man of consequence in Ireland. It would be the participation of British taxes without British trade. (Curran.)

The calamitous result of the union to Ireland is shown in the following figures:

Population in 1801:

England .....	8, 892, 536
Ireland .....	5, 395, 456
Scotland .....	1, 608, 420

Present population:

England .....	36, 070, 492
Ireland .....	4, 381, 951
Scotland .....	4, 759, 445

The figures, indeed, tell their own sad story. They cry loudly for the termination of a union—that of the wolf and the lamb.

With regard to Ireland's revenue, I quote from *Nationality of July 28, 1917*:

Ireland's revenue for the current year will be £30,000,000. That sum is equal to the normal revenue of Belgium, which has a population nearly double ours to tax and provide for. It is £6,000,000 greater than the revenue of Roumania, £8,000,000 greater than the revenue of Sweden, £11,000,000 greater than the revenue of Holland. It is equal to the combined revenues of Denmark, Switzerland, Norway and Greece. It is thrice the revenue of Bulgaria and nine times the revenue of Switzerland.

Ireland raises the largest revenue of the small nations of Europe—and what does she get for it?

\* \* \* \* \*

Holland, Sweden and other countries obtain and maintain an army and fleet, a diplomatic and consular service and administration of Dutch and Swedish affairs by Dutchmen and Swedes. Ireland gets none of these things. The thirty million goes to defray the expenses of the subjection of Ireland to English interests, and to put a handsome profit in England's pocket.

Ireland is three times as large as Belgium, two and one-half times the size of Holland, and more richly fertile than either.

It is urged by the spokesmen of bigotry that there are two Irelands. This can be said of practically all nations to-day. Self-determination, however, is not denied them because they do not all worship God at the same altar. We ask only that Ireland be similarly treated, there being no honorable reason for treating her differently, no reason why Ireland's dissenting minority should be permitted forever to bar the way to peace and nationhood.

# STATEMENT OF PROF. P. J. LENNOX, LITT. D., OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Dr. LENNOX. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen I have prepared a statement in favor of the resolution along economic lines because I thought that possibly that particular line of argument had not been developed, and I am entirely in favor of the passage of the resolution

before your honorable body. I know that your action in this matter will give satisfaction to millions of people in this country.

As a result of the war—which is now, I hope, happily over—some of the smaller peoples and nations of Europe have been given, or are to be given, the right of self-determination, because they were kept, against their will, under the domination of other nations, and because, while so subjected, they were badly governed. On both grounds, Ireland has a similar rightful claim to self-determination. Her struggle for freedom from foreign rule for 750 years is unparalleled in the history of the world. That she was badly governed during all that time and that she is badly governed to-day are self-evident propositions, needing no proof. There is a consensus of the overwhelming majority of mankind on that subject. As a distinguished Englishman, the late W. E. Gladstone, put it, English government in Ireland has “been marked by every horror and every shame that could mark the relations between a strong country and a weak one.”

Four great lines of cleavage have always existed between England and Ireland—race, language, religion, and economics; and the greatest of these is economics. I wish, during the few minutes allotted to me, to draw the attention of your honorable body to a few of the many economic questions on which grievous wrong has been done to Ireland by the predominant partner in the forced alliance existing between them.

The first principle of good government, namely, the happiness and welfare of the people governed, has always been set at naught in Ireland's case. It would, for example, be immediately for the good of Ireland, and ultimately for the good of England, to promote Irish trade and commerce and to develop Irish industrial resources. But what do we find? So far from doing this, the English Government has not only not encouraged but has from time to time even taken steps expressly to destroy Irish business. Thus in 1665 the English Parliament enacted a law prohibiting the exportation of Irish cattle to England. Again, in 1698, at the bidding of English rivals, the Irish woolen trade, at that time one of the greatest in Europe, was deliberately killed by an enactment forbidding the export of wool from Ireland to any country but England, and, at that, to only one port in England. At a later period the silk-weaving industry of Dublin and the glass industry of Waterford were also killed off. During the war between England and her revolted American colonies, Ireland was reduced to the verge of national bankruptcy by an English embargo on her exports.

Ireland is largely an agricultural country—44 per cent, as compared with 8 per cent for England and 10 per cent for Scotland. Yet the same free trade, following on the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, which was certainly good for industrial England, was pretended to be equally good for agricultural Ireland. The result was that in Ireland it was not found possible to compete with the foreigner in such a staple product as flour, and wheat virtually ceased to be grown in Ireland, and the ruins of hundreds of flour mills throughout the country stand to-day as mute but expressive witnesses of a great national wrong.

Ireland contains 20,350,725 statute acres. Of these a total of 12,433,095 were a few years ago under pasture, the lowest and least

profitable form of agriculture. Now, it surely should be the end and aim of government to put an end to so unpromising a condition of affairs. The question of the drainage of flooded areas has been before Parliament since I was a child, and every year something was promised but nothing was done.

The peat alone in the bogs is fraught with great industrial possibilities, but it remains an unworked source of national wealth, except for firing, for lack of Government encouragement.

Similarly the coal, iron, and other mineral wealth of Ireland is known to scientists to be great, but these are not developed as they would be in a self-governing country. The result is that nearly all the coal burned in Ireland comes from northern England or southern Wales, and so with the iron. The inference is obvious.

The ports and harbors of Ireland, which are among the finest and most commodious in the world, are standing practically empty. Her great rivers, like the lordly Shannon and the noble Barrow, are running idly to the sea. Her fisheries are scarcely at all worked. All these things are the result of willful neglect, which would not be possible in any country that ruled itself.

Ireland is governed from Dublin Castle by 67 different boards, which are independent of one another, and which, between them, employ a formidably numerous array of officials, on whom one-tenth of the Irish receipts are spent, while in England only one-fortieth of the budget is spent in administration.

Again, in Ireland, which has the lowest criminal record in the world, the cost of police is 6s. 8d. per head of the population, while in England the cost is 3s. 4½d. per inhabitant, and in Scotland 2s. 5½d.

Indirect taxation, which presses heaviest on the poorer classes, represents 70 per cent of the Irish taxes, while in England it reaches only 50 per cent.

Now, let me tell of perhaps the most glaring of all the injustices done to Ireland. The Act of Union of 1800 was supposed to be a solemn treaty between two sovereign States, the Kingdom of Ireland on the one hand, and the Kingdom of Great Britain on the other. It was passed by bribery, corruption, and fraud. It was an unfair treaty to Ireland. It contained, however, one saving clause—the two exchequers were to be separate. But in 1817 an act of Parliament unwarrantably amalgamated the exchequers, and from that day to this Ireland has had no separate accounting of the collection and expenditure of the taxes levied upon her, and no proper statement of the incidence of the taxation. It was long felt that under this arrangement she was getting a great deal the worse of the bargain. Finally, feeling on this point ran so high that in 1894 a royal commission was appointed to investigate the financial relations between the two countries. This commission consisted of 12 Englishmen and 2 Irishmen. After a painstaking inquiry extending over three years the commission issued its report in 1896. That report showed that Ireland had been overtaxed at the rate of £3,000,000 a year! Was anything then done to remedy the monstrous grievance shown in this unfair incidence of taxation? Not a thing. On the contrary, it has gone on increasing in unfairness. Since the war began the comparative burden has been still greater on Ireland.

\*The question has been asked whether, if Ireland got self-determination, and decided to be an independent nation outside the British Empire, she would be able to be self-supporting? Everyone knows that she would; but as a good start would be a desirable thing, and as indemnities are, very properly, the order of the day, there is an indemnity of £3,000,000 a year for 100 years, or £300,000,000, or \$1,500,000,000, exclusive of interest, which would assuredly put Ireland on the right road to the greatness which is undoubtedly her due.

As further proof of my case as to English misgovernment of Ireland, and therefore of Ireland's right to self-determination, I hand in, for inclusion in the record, a letter from Right Rev. Dr. Hallinan, bishop of Limerick, written on October 21, 1918, to the Ard Feis in Dublin, and a letter written at the same time to the same body by Right Rev. Dr. Fogarty, bishop of Killaloe, each of which covers points which the limitation of time imposed upon me did not permit me to touch.

Most Rev. Dr. Hallinan, in his letter dated October 21, said:

As I can not be present at the meeting of the Ard-Feis of Sinn Fein I see no objection to my giving an expression of my views on the present political outlook. The present is, in my opinion, the most momentous period in the whole history of Ireland. The war is nearing its end, and soon there will be delegates from all nations sitting in conference to recast the map of the greater part of the inhabited world and to decide in particular the fate of small nationalities. It is a matter of great importance to this country to have its voice heard before that assemblage.

Ireland is a nation older than England, or perhaps than any other race or nation that will be represented at it. Nature has designed and fitted her to be such, and she has never renounced her title or claim to it. During the vicissitudes and fiery ordeals of the last seven centuries she has preserved intact and indestructible that principle of her national individuality notwithstanding the persistent efforts of England to strangle it.

In 1782 "a solemn compact," as it was called by the then Viceroy, Lord Portland, was made between "the English and Irish nations." A statute was passed in the British Parliament called the Renunciation Act, by which England renounced all claim to legislate for Ireland, and this enactment was declared "to be established and ascertained forever and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable."

#### ENGLAND'S RECORD OF INFAMY.

After 18 years, during which Ireland advanced in a marvelous manner under her own Parliament, imperfect as it was in many respects, in commerce, cultivation, agriculture, and manufactures, that solemn treaty between two independent nations was shamefully broken, or, in modern parlance, treated as "a scrap of paper," by the British Government under Pitt.

In 1800 he destroyed our Parliament and carried the act of union by "force, fraud, and corruption," to use the words of Mr. Gladstone. Since the passing of that act of infamy the history of no civilized nation furnishes anything to equal the misgovernment of this country by the British Parliament. "It has been marked," to quote Mr. Gladstone, "by every horror and every shame that could mark the relations between a strong country and a weak one."

By its fruits you shall know it. Three abortive attempts at armed rebellion, 100 coercion acts—one of them "perpetual," and that in the Jubilee year of Queen Victoria; absorption by unjust taxation of some hundreds of millions of our national revenue, and that in flagrant violation of one of the clauses of the act of union; the dwindling of our population from upward of 8,000,000 to little more than half; the flight of the bone and sinew of our race from their motherland to foreign shores, leaving behind them the aged and the children, for whose maintenance millions have been sent back by the exiles; two artificially created famines; the paralysis of our commerce; the ruin of our industries; the poverty and degradation of our people.



During all this time some remedial concessions have been wrung from a hostile Parliament; but, however, either at the point of the bayonet, under the stress of social revolution, or when it suited the party purposes of British politicians. Nothing was given from a sense of right or justice—as little as possible was given—and that little with the worst grace, so that the British Government never deserved and never got a word of thanks from this nation. For those who, like myself, have been during a half-century witnesses of the party intrigues, the exasperating delays, the broken promises, the contemptuous treatment of this ancient, downtrodden nation by an unsympathetic, arrogant, foreign Parliament, the process of amelioration has been sickening.

Now the weapon of Parliamentaryism, feeble and disappointing as it often proved to be, has been wrested from our hands. Carsonism, which means rebellion against the fundamental principle of the British constitution with its threat “to break every law,” the stirring up of mutiny in the army, and its condonation, approval, and reward by the Government, has laid the axe at the root of Parliamentaryism, so far as this country at least is concerned.

#### SINN FEIN MEANS SELF-DETERMINATION.

But we have at hand a weapon more powerful than armed rebellion or parliamentaryism, and that is the policy of Sinn Fein. For what else is the policy of “self-determination”—now accepted by all nations—but the English translation of the basic principle of Sinn Fein?

Generations of Irishmen in the past have been appealing at one time to the fears, at another to the sense of justice of Englishmen in the British Parliament for the freedom of their native land. They have appealed in vain. Now is the golden opportunity to change the venue and to make our appeal to the international tribunal at the forthcoming Peace Conference. England's voice may be loud and strong there, but it will not be loud or strong enough to silence before an impartial tribunal the voice of those who will bespeak the undeniable rights and imperishable claims of this ancient race to complete national independence. There is only one barrier to the success of this policy, and that is the continued presence of Irish national representation in the English Parliament. They can do no good there.

This is no time for them to be toying and trifling with the supreme interests of the Nation in that assembly whilst they are at the same time proclaiming for Ireland the right of self-determination. If they be sincere in this profession, then it seems to me that it is their duty to shake the dust of the House of Commons off their feet, bid good-by to it forever, return to their own country, there take counsel with the leaders of Sinn Fein, enter into some arrangement with them to avoid contested elections, and thus united jointly to prepare and formulate the national demand for self-determination before the Peace Conference.

The Most Rev. Dr. Fogarty, in the course of his letter, wrote:

The Ard-Fheis meets this year in a fateful hour. May God inspire its deliberations with courage and wisdom. It will speak at any rate with an Irish accent which Hugh O'Neill will recognize as his own, and of which he and the other great fathers of Irish history will not be ashamed. You will salute with honor the brave Irishmen who at this moment are in English dungeons for no other crime than that they have dared to say that Ireland is a nation and entitled to a nation's right of freedom.

Let the world note the fact that what the President of the United States demands as a fundamental right for all the nationalities of the world, large or little, it is a crime to ask for Ireland. How Eamonn De Valera and the other heroes may be faring in English prisons we are not allowed to know.

We have learned something of the brutalities perpetrated on Irish prisoners in Belfast jail. Nothing more disgusting than that repulsive treatment is to be found in the most savage records of oppression. Just now, I understand, there are 100 of these fine young boys sick of influenza in that compound of tyranny.

We know how fatal that plague is and what careful nursing it requires. But these stricken men, we are told, are left without nurses, without invalid diet, locked in their cells without a soul to visit them from 5 o'clock in the evening until the warder comes in the morning. And they who do this complain of the treatment of prisoners in other countries; and they will, perhaps, when death has claimed its victims, appoint a commission to inquire into the case, with another Judge Dodd to carry out the inquiry.

## STATEMENT OF HON. P. D. NORTON, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM NORTH DAKOTA.

Mr. NORTON. Mr. Chairman, as there are many who have come a great distance to appear before the committee, and as the time of this hearing is limited, I shall not occupy any time of the committee now other than to request leave to have printed in the hearings an argument in favor of the resolution by Hon. Michael H. Brennan, of Devils Lake, N. Dak., a distinguished citizen and lawyer of North Dakota, a native of Pennsylvania, and a man who is proud of his Irish ancestry. Both of Mr. Brennan's sons, James and Gerald, are with the colors, wearing the khaki, and daily doing their part to uphold American principles and American ideals in the war. Mr. Brennan's views are briefly set forth in the following statement:

To the honorable COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

*House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.*

SIRS: In regard to the resolution before you in relation to Ireland, I beg leave to submit the following:

The alleged position of the allies is to protect the smaller nations and secure them in the exercise of their national rights. The position commits Great Britain to a proper recognition of the rights of the Irish nation. It is too long a tale to relate the history of the relations between Great Britain and Ireland since the year 1172, except to call attention to the fact that the struggle has lasted ever since without any failure on the part of Ireland to assert her right to a separate national existence; but coming down to the affairs of 1782, when the parliament at Dublin, under the leadership of Grattan, declared for Irish independence, subject only to the king, lords, and commons of Ireland. At that time the Blackstonian doctrine had so saturated the British Empire that all legislation in any part of the British dominions was subject to the action of the London Parliament. In Ireland it had reached the point where bills would have to be submitted to the royal consideration before being introduced, so that the function of legislation (so called) was merely to register the will of the sovereign.

The doctrine of Blackstone, to which I refer, will be readily found in his commentaries, Book I (pp. 99 to 104). By that doctrine Blackstone had tried to seal the slavery of the Irish people. The doctrine was formulated in the 6th of George I declaring and establishing the supremacy of England and the eternal dependency of Ireland on the British Parliament. In short, the underlying principle is the dominance of England as against any other part of the empire. This dominance is distinct from the power of the United States Congress as exercised in the District of Columbia, for here we recognize the equality of all the States, except as to such powers as are delegated to the Federal Government by the Constitution, and here we have both branches of the legislature composed of elective bodies, while in Great Britain one branch is hereditary and necessarily undemocratic. Consequently, looking at the relations of Ireland to such a government, even though the greatest liberality were exercised, the condition of the people of Ireland would be one of subserviency. The condition of the entire mass of the population of the empire is also subservient because of the existence of two classes, a plebian and an aristocratic. Under such a system it would be impossible for Ireland to enjoy the rights of an American State. The only solution of the difficulty would be (1) a federation of the parts composing the empire, placing England on an equality with each of the other countries and establishing a parliament for purely imperial affairs, leaving to the respective countries legislative powers such as our American States enjoy; or (2) making Ireland a State of the American Union; or (3) giving her national independence. This last is the dream of the race. But in no case would the present shelved home-rule act fill the measure of justice or give satisfaction, because, first, it falls far short of colonial legislative powers and of our State legislative powers and is always subject to the simple act of Parliament and could be repealed at any time if the mood of the dominant nation saw its own interest in such repeal. A guarantee by the dominant nation could not be more potent than an act of Parliament in the absence of a written constitution.

The status or condition of dominance and the act of Parliament formally establishing the dependency of Ireland was at the time of the declaration of

Irish independence, in 1782, at the acme of the American crisis, relinquished and repealed by Chapter LIII, entitled "An act to repeal an act made in the sixth of George of the reign of the late Majesty George I. and entitled 'An act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain.'" By that act of repeal the doctrine of Blackstone was abolished, and Ireland for a short period stood forth practically free and independent among the nations till the close of the American war, and the return of Lord Cornwallis and his forces to Ireland to carry out the machinations of Pitt, by which the insurrection of 1798 was fomented and finally the nefarious act of union of 1800 was passed by the British Parliament, and the bright dream of independence vanished. Bearing in mind those matters, it will be apparent that no parliamentary guaranties and no treaty obligations will avail Ireland under the present unwritten constitution of the Empire, if the interest of the dominant nation or of the London merchants deem Ireland of secondary importance.

It is unnecessary to reply to what is sometimes said about representation in the British Parliament. In the face of so large a representation from Great Britain her 105 members might just as well be much less than that number. The number of representatives may have been reasonably proportionate in 1800, but by a system of rule which it is unnecessary to discuss, the population of England has steadily and enormously increased since then, while the population of Ireland has at least since 1848 steadily decreased, notwithstanding the natural resources of the country and the well-known prolific qualities of the race.

In the discussion of the proposition for Irish autonomy the Ulster question will naturally be considered, and in reference to that I submit a few facts. In 1607 James I of England confiscated six counties of Ulster, drove the Irish inhabitants therefrom, and parceled out the lands to Scotch and English colonists known in the records of the transaction by the ominous title of "Undertakers." This flagitious piece of land piracy and robbery and extermination is known in history as the plantation of Ulster. The lands were distributed as follows: To the Protestant archbishop of Armagh, 43,000 acres; to Trinity College, Dublin, a Protestant university, from which a Catholic could not be granted a diploma till after 1829, 30,000 acres; to the Skinners (another ominous name) the Dry-salters, and Cordwainers corporation and trades of London, 208,000 acres; and to the Scotch Presbyterian and English Protestant all the rest in parcels of 1,000, 1,500, and 2,000 acres, and the recipient undertakers were obliged to swear that "they would not employ an Irish Catholic" or "let them come near them." A slight reflection will readily suggest that an act of confiscation may be merely on paper, but the practical working out of the act may mean a war of extermination. It is unnecessary to say that the Irish struck back. Of course, there were confiscations in 1172, 1607, 1635, and 1688-1690. The commission appointed to report on the confiscations of 1688-1690 reported an aggregate confiscation of over a million and sixty thousand acres. A sample of the variety of causes for such is one where William of Orange bestowed 95,000 acres of Irish land on the Countess of Orkney, a lady who had inspired him, much to the embarrassment of the public and the unhappiness of his lawful wife at The Hague.

It will be readily seen that with Government backing and with fixity of tenure of lands in Ulster, and in many cases title in fee simple, while the people in other parts of Ireland were holding under tenancies at will, the development in Ulster would, when compared to that of the rest of Ireland, appear much to the advantage of the people of Ulster, especially those specially favored and protected, but the reason is obvious.

It is claimed that if Ireland had home rule to include all Ireland, the Catholics of the south would legislate adversely to the Protestants of the north, and that Ulster for that reason should be left out of the measure; but in such a case the Catholics of the north would be at a great disadvantage as against the other denominations if the objection raised is in this age deserving of consideration. An analysis of the situation on the basis of population will readily show that the objection that Ulster does not want home rule is by no means sustained by the figures, when we bear in mind that the agitation is not confined merely to Catholics, and that Ulster sends a majority for home rule to Parliament. Let us see: The following table of population was published recently in the Literary Digest, I believe, and is still of value for purposes of comparison. It will be remembered that the chief grounds of the Carsonite opposition to national autonomy, as given by that English

garrison in Ireland is that the alleged fear that as the remainder of Ireland is largely Catholic, the Protestants of Ulster would be at a disadvantage, and even at the mercy of Catholics, notwithstanding the imperial guaranties, but they are willing to divide the country, let the remainder of Ireland have autonomy, and let Ulster have a separate government. Whether they would still have control of Ulster may be judged by the table of population and the proportion of the respective religious divisions. There are nine counties in Ulster, and the proportion of Catholics to Protestants in the whole of Ulster is as 7 to 9.

Name of county.	Total population.	Percentage of Catholics.	Catholic population.
Antrim.....	193,864	20.5	48,466
Belfast Borough.....	386,947	24.1	92,867
Armagh.....	120,291	45.3	54,491
Londonderry.....	94,849	45.8	45,720
Londonderry Borough.....	40,781	.....	.....
Down.....	204,303	31.6	64,559
Cavan.....	91,173	81.5	74,305
Donegal.....	168,537	78.9	132,976
Fermanagh.....	61,836	56.2	34,757
Monaghan.....	71,455	74.7	53,376
Tyrone.....	142,665	55.4	79,036
Total, exclusive of city of Londonderry.....	1,535,920	.....	680,553
Deduct Catholics.....	680,553	.....	.....
Total Protestant, except Derry city.....	855,367	.....	.....

As the proportion of Catholics to Protestants in the county of Londonderry is 45.8 to 54.2, we may assume that a like proportion prevails in the city of Londonderry, and in that case the 40,780 give above would be divided: Catholics, 18,677; Protestants, 22,103. But suppose we make it two Protestants to one Catholic, we then have Catholics, 13,593; Protestants, 27,187. Adding these to the totals already given, we have for the entire Province: Protestant, 882,554; Catholic, 694,146, in the proportion of 9 to 7, as before stated.

If we deduct the Protestant population of Belfast Borough (386,947) from the total number of Protestants in Ulster (882,554), we get 495,607 for the remainder of the Province of Ulster. In other words, Ulster, outside of Belfast Borough, has a majority of 198,539 Catholics—694,146 Catholics minus 495,607 Protestants.

If the question were submitted to a vote by counties, it is evident that if religious preferences decided, the counties of Cavan, Donegal, Monaghan, Fermanagh, and Tyrone would vote for home rule, and it is very likely that the counties of Armagh and Londonderry would do likewise, each being over 45 per cent Catholic. The Protestants of Antrim, Belfast Borough, and Down would possibly be against home rule for all Ireland, and in that case the Catholics of these last-named counties would be subject to the disadvantages from their separated brethren that the latter pretend to fear from Catholics. At this stage of the world's history and development, the position of the followers of Edward Carson is untenable, since it could not be logically held; but, nevertheless, literary pabulum of that kind is continuously doled out for the use of people of that kind of mentality.

So much for figures. It will be recalled that during Parnell's time Justin McCarthy carried Londonderry by a small majority, and that a Mr. Devlin, a home ruler, is member for a division of Belfast. So that in case of a vote of all Ulster on the question, there is a big fighting chance to win for self-determination. But there is no question of a majority of the counties voting for it.

I have not referred to the services that the Irish race, both as native and adopted citizens of this Republic, have rendered the Stars and Stripes, or to the civic gains the Republic has made through them. I have not referred to Ireland's history, aside from the few political turning points cited, nor to the increase of wealth—mental, moral, and physical—that history must credit to Ireland. Americans should know of these matters. But, regardless of them, and in the light of the new freedom proclaimed by our distinguished President, I claim that the American Congress should place itself on record as favoring the placing of Ireland among the nations of the earth, so that she may be inspired to develop, expand, and prosper to the full measure of her talents and resources. I was born within the triangle whose vertices rest in Wyoming, Valley Forge, and Gettysburg, and my whole heart beseeches my fellow countrymen in the

name of that trinity of national shrines to place themselves on record as demanding for Ireland what Ireland has given her best blood to preserve for the United States—the right of self-government.

Very respectfully,

M. H. BRENNAN.

### **ADDITIONAL STATEMENT OF HON. THOMAS GALLAGHER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM ILLINOIS.**

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Chairman, in closing the hearings that your committee so generously and unanimously granted upon resolution 357, introduced by me, I feel that the many delegates present, as well as myself, are greatly indebted to your committee for their sympathy and kindness.

It was not my intention to take up any of the time of the committee this morning with my remarks, but a question has been asked by several members of the committee as to what form of government they will have in Ireland if self-determination is granted, and whether the Sinn Fein or Irish Republic Party in Ireland believe in personal and religious freedom. I am going to ask permission of the committee for a few minutes to answer that question and to read for the benefit of the committee excerpts from the proclamation of the provisional government of the Irish republic as published to the world by them on April 23, 1916, on the occasion of Ireland's most recent uprising to assert her natural rights.

#### **PROCLAMATION OF IRISH REPUBLIC.**

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish republic as a sovereign independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades in arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights, and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent national government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the provisional government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish republic under the protection of the Most High God, whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonor it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valor and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on behalf of the provisional government.

THOMAS J. CLARKE.  
SEAN MACDIARMADA.  
P. H. PEARSE.  
JAMES CONNOLLY.  
THOMAS MACDONAGH.  
EAMONN CEANNT.  
JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

Mr. Chairman, these are the same principles that gave birth to this Republic. They are the principles that have immortalized Thomas Jefferson, and that were signed so boldly by John Hancock. They are the principles for which Washington fought and Lincoln died, "that a Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." [Applause.] They are the principles that President Wilson will contend for in the peace conference at Versailles, so that "governments shall derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." They are the self-same principles for which we so willingly sent 2,000,000 of our best men across 3,000 miles of ocean, a new world Army, that turned defeat into victory upon the battle fields of France. They are the principles that prompted us to give up our money and float billions in liberty bonds "to make the world safe for democracy." These are living principles that will never die, and as long as oppression and tyranny exist and liberty yet has friends and lovers, the struggle for Irish independence will never cease, not until Ireland stands before the world a nation once again. [Applause.]

I wish again to thank the committee for their kind consideration and for the extension of time they have so kindly granted the many delegations present.

The CHAIRMAN. A motion is made and seconded that 5,000 copies of these hearings be printed. All in favor of this motion will make it known by "Aye."

The motion was unanimously carried.

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#### APPENDIX.

Telegrams, letters, and petitions favorable to the resolution have been received by Hon. Jeanette Rankin, Member of Congress from Montana, from the following associations, societies, and public men:

Citizens of Santa Clara County, Cal.  
 Bishop of Great Falls, Mont., for the Friends of Irish Freedom.  
 Daniel Tracey, chairman Democratic central committee, Great Falls, Mont.  
 O. S. Warden, manager Great Falls Tribune (Montana).  
 E. H. Cooney, editor Great Falls Leader and chairman council of defense of Montana.  
 State Senator Burlingame, Montana.  
 United Irish Societies of San Francisco, Cal.  
 Lady Hibernians, Division No. 1, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Friends of Irish Freedom Society, Oakland, Cal.  
 County board, Ladies' Auxiliary, A. O. H., San Francisco.  
 Robert Emmet Association, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Irish societies, Los Angeles, Cal.  
 Women's Irish League, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Cork Society, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Knights of the Red Branch, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Indian Nationalist Party, San Francisco, Cal.  
 United Order of Hibernians, Los Angeles, Cal.  
 Young Ladies' Institute, of 8,000 women, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Ladies' Auxiliary, A. O. H., Los Angeles, Cal.  
 Cork societies of the Pacific coast.  
 Sixty-two Irish societies in convention at San Francisco, Cal.  
 The O'Rahilly Branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, Seattle, Wash.  
 Women Friends of Irish Freedom, Des Moines, Iowa.  
 Friends of Irish Freedom, Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Women Friends of Ireland, La Porte, Ind.  
 Munster Men's Association, San Francisco, Cal.

Gaelic Athletic Association of California.  
 United Irish Societies, Chicago, Ill.  
 Irish Societies of Butte, Mont.  
 Ancient Order of Hibernians, Great Falls, Mont.  
 Deer Lodge County A. O. H., Montana.  
 Phil Sheridan Club of Anaconda, Mont.  
 Emmet Literary Association, Butte, Mont.  
 Miles City Trades and Labor Council, Montana.  
 Women Friends of Irish Freedom, Petersburg, Nebr.  
 Emmet Monument Association, Omaha, Nebr.  
 St. Enda's Literary Society, Camden, N. J.  
 Women Friends of Irish Freedom, Portland, Oreg.  
 Ladies' Auxiliary, A. O. H., Seattle, Wash.  
 Besides many letters and telegrams from individuals.

Telegrams, letters, and petitions favorable to the resolution have been received by the Committee on Foreign Affairs from the following associations, societies, and public men:

- Irish Societies of Houston, Tex.
- Irish citizens of Norfolk and Portsmouth, Va.
- Meeting of citizens, December 8, 1918, Woonsocket, R. I.
- Fraternal Order of Eagles, Woonsocket, R. I.
- Division No. 6, A. O. H., Providence, R. I.
- Holy Name Society, Woonsocket, R. I.
- United Irish Societies of Pawtucket and Blackstone Valley, R. I.
- Citizens of Providence, R. I.
- Ladies' Auxiliary, A. O. H., of Rhode Island.
- Ancient Order of Hibernians of Maryland.
- Ladies' Auxiliary, A. O. H., Chicago, Ill.
- Citizens of Philadelphia, Pa.
- Friends of Ireland, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Municipal officials of the city of Pittston, Pa.
- Irish societies, Dubois, Pa.
- Company B, Irish Volunteers, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Twenty-two branches of Irish Nationalists, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Gaelic League, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Citizens of Syracuse, N. Y.
- D. H. Comber Club, Philadelphia, Pa.
- A. O. H. divisions, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Irish societies, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- A. O. H. and Ladies' Auxiliary, Cleveland, Ohio.
- Citizens of Mineral County, Mont.
- Citizens of Deer Lodge, Mont.
- Citizens of Glasgow, Mont.
- Citizens of Lewistown, Mont.
- Citizens of Butte, Mont., including lieutenant governor, mayor, judge of district court, sheriff, district judge, and various other officials and clergymen, presidents of banks, high-school professors, chairman board of county commissioners, editors, and State president of metal trades.
- Anaconda Mill and Smelter Union, Mont.
- Ex-Gov. Edward F. Dunne, Chicago, Ill.
- Mayor William Hale Thompson, Chicago, Ill.
- Bishop E. J. O'Dea, of Seattle, Wash., and rectors of Seattle diocese.
- United American Irish Societies, Tacoma, Wash.
- Central Labor Council, Tacoma, Wash.
- Citizens of Seattle, Wash.
- United American Irish Societies, Spokane, Wash.
- Irish Societies, Seattle, Wash.
- Citizens of Fond du Lac, Wis.
- American citizens of Houston, Tex.
- Division No. 72, A. O. H., Boston, Mass.
- United Irish Societies of Lowell, Mass.
- Hibernians of Leominster, Mass.
- A. O. H., Pittsfield, Mass.
- Thomas J. Clark Branch, Friends of Freedom, Westfield, Mass.
- Division No. 17, A. O. H., Atlantic, Mass.
- Friends of Irish Freedom, Westfield, Mass.

- Massachusetts Council, Friends of Irish Freedom.  
 Thomas Ashe Branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, Holyoke, Mass.  
 Padraic Pearse Branch, Friends of Irish Freedom, Springfield, Mass.  
 Citizens of Palatka, Fla.  
 Citizens of St. Augustine, Fla.  
 Citizens of Miami, Fla.  
 Citizens of Tampa, Fla.  
 Citizens of Jacksonville, Fla.  
 Citizens of Orlando, Fla.  
 Citizens of San Antonio, Fla.  
 Building Trades Council, Santa Clara County, Cal.  
 Company A, Irish Volunteers, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Citizens of Oakland, Cal.  
 Wolfe-Tone Society, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Cork Benevolent Association, San Francisco, Cal.  
 United American Irish Societies, Alameda County, Cal.  
 Citizens of Los Angeles, Cal.  
 Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco.  
 Golden Gate Aerie, Fraternal Order of Eagles, San Francisco.  
 Gaelic League Societies of California.  
 Knights of Columbus branches, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Hibernian Dramatic Club, San Francisco.  
 Connaught Social Benevolent Association, San Francisco, Cal.  
 John McBride Association, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Spanish War Veterans, A. O. H., San Francisco, Cal.  
 Labor organizations, San Jose, Cal.  
 Ulster Celtic Benevolent Association, San Francisco, Cal.  
 Citizens of Troy, N. Y.; mass meeting at Music Hall.  
 Davitt Club, Hartford, Conn.  
 Connecticut State Convention of Friends of Irish Freedom.  
 American citizens of Irish birth, Auditorium Theater, Baltimore, Md.  
 Hon. John W. Goff, justice of New York Supreme Court.  
 Cumann na m Ban, New York.  
 Friends of Irish Freedom, Brighton, Mass.  
 Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 County Galway Men's Association, Boston, Mass.  
 Citizens of Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.  
 President, faculty, and students, of the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind.  
 American citizens of Jacksonville, Fla.  
 Metal Trades Council, Seattle, Wash.  
 United Irish Society, Chicago, Ill.  
 Boston Common mass meeting, Boston, Mass.  
 Skenandoah Club, New York, N. Y.  
 Women citizens, New York, N. Y.  
 Irish County clubs, New York City.  
 Carmelite branch of Friends of Irish Freedom, New York City.  
 Irish Societies of Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Gaelic League, New York State.  
 Gaelic Athletic Association, New York City.  
 Friends of Ireland Association, New York City.  
 Women Friends of Ireland, New York City.  
 Irish Progressive League, New York City.  
 County Louth Association, New York City.  
 Ancient Order of Hibernians, Buffalo, N. Y.  
 Friends of Ireland, Rochester, N. Y.  
 Madison Square Garden meeting, New York City.  
 Philadelphia Academy of Music petition.  
 Citizens of Wilmington, Del.  
 United Irish American Societies of Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 Emmet Association, New York City.  
 Committee of 1,000 women, New York City.  
 George Washington Branch of Friends of Irish Freedom, Brooklyn, N. Y.  
 The 1776 Club, New York City.  
 Irish Women's Council, New York City.  
 Thomas McDonough Branch of Irish Freedom, New York City.



- Charles Stewart Parnell Club, New York City.  
 Citizens of New Brighton, N. Y.  
 Women citizens of Harlem, New York City.  
 United Irish Societies of New York City.  
 Celtic Council, Royal Arcanum, New York City.  
 Citizens' mass meeting of Seattle, Wash.  
 President and faculty of Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 Ancient Order of Hibernians of Minnesota.  
 Irish History Club, Minneapolis, Minn.  
 Citizens of Denver, Colo.  
 Division No. 1, A. O. H., Danbury, Conn.  
 United Irish Societies of Torrington, Conn.  
 Irish Societies of New Britain, Conn.  
 Ancient Order of Hibernians of New Haven, Conn.  
 Worcester, Mass., citizens' mass meeting for the freedom of Ireland.  
 Telegram from John J. O'Connor, Kansas City, Mo., State president Ancient Order of Hibernians.  
 Citizens of Sharon, Pa., and vicinity.  
 People of La Salle and Peru, Ill.  
 Citizens of Indianapolis, Ind.  
 Division No. 72, Ancient Order of Hibernians, Boston, Mass.  
 Ancient Order of Hibernians, Division No. 1, of Manchester, N. H.  
 The County Galway Men's Benevolent Association of Greater Boston.  
 Allied Irish-American societies and Friends, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 Citizens of New York City, at a mass meeting held at Corpus Christi Hall.  
 President and faculty of Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 Public meeting held under auspices of the united Irish societies of Woonsocket.  
 State convention of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, at Lewiston, Me.  
 Ancient Order of Hibernians, J. H. Nightingale, J. J. Fitzgerald, and Martin Crahen, committee.  
 Telegram from Leo J. McCarthy and M. M. Roach, representing Knights of Columbus of Oakland, Cal.  
 Telegram from the united Irish-American societies of Alameda County, Cal.  
 Besides many letters and telegrams from individuals.  
 Letters opposing the resolution have been received by the Committee on Foreign Affairs as follows:  
 Ulster Society of Pittsburgh, Pa.  
 Philadelphia Protestant Federation.



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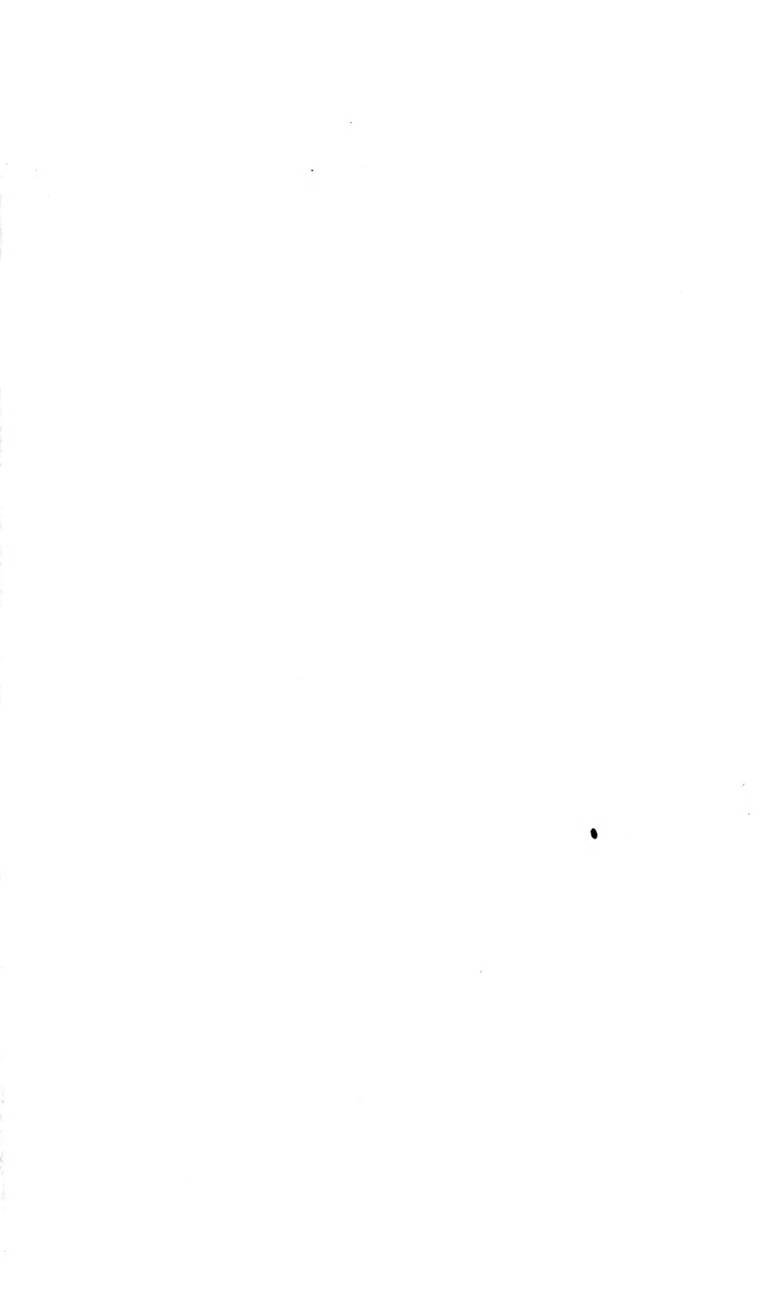
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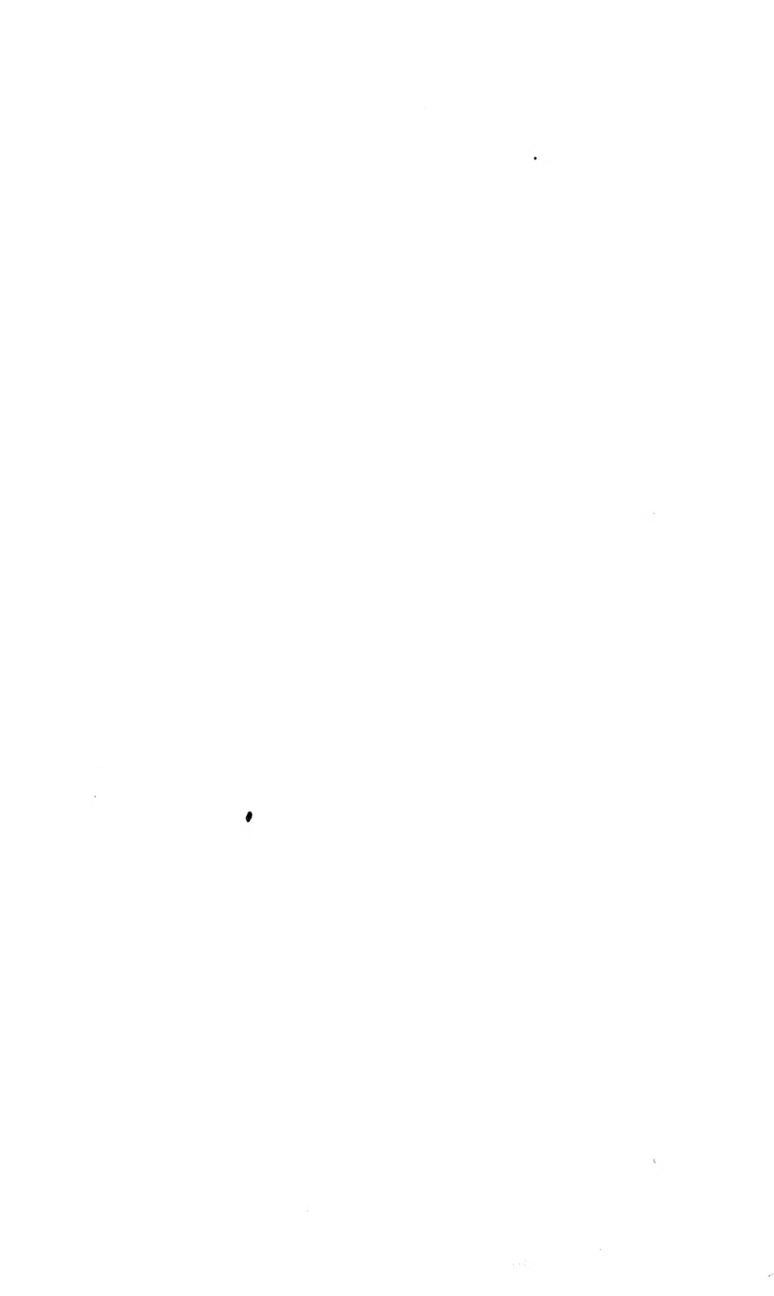
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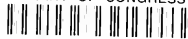












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